MAR 13 1915

Peace Number

The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold

Entered as Second Class Matter January 31, 1907, at the Post Office in Chicago, Illinois, U... March 3, 1879.

Twelfth Year. No. 3. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MARCH, 1915. 5c Per Copy. 25c Per Year

N Y PUB LIBRARY
40TH ST & 5TH AVE
NEW YORK CITY N Y

Look, Mad Lords!

His Sad Face On the Cross Sees Only THIS
After the Passion of Two Thousand Years

THERE SHALL BE PEACE

Americans, we face War!

Our country has thrust its fist into the faces of Britain and Germany. We stand on the verge of the fearful maelstrom of the world-horror.

In order to protect "American commerce" we have threatened both sides in the conflict. We stand ready to sacrifice life and fortune, in order to ensure to American commerce the right to rob and starve America, to feed the murderous hordes abroad.

While millions hunger at home, the meat and grain speculators snatch the food from their mouths and hurry it across the sea; and when that thieving traffic is threatened, they call with patriotic fervor for those who have been starved and robbed, to fly to the defense of their robbers.

There shall be peace! We will not fight for the House of Morgan, nor waste our lives for the cubs of the Rockefeller and Astor breed. If blood is to be shed, let it be the blood of those for whose profit the war is undertaken.

If our ships must invade the danger zone, let there be a member of the firm of Morgan, of the Rockefeller family, of the Astors or of the Fields on every ship.

It is their war; for their profit we are robbed, but for their profit we refuse to die. If fighting must be done, let them do the fighting.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE! FOR WE WILL NOT FIGHT!

Call for National Peace Conference

A call for a National Peace Conference, to meet in Chicago February 27 and 28, 1915, has been issued by the Emergency Peace Federation. Carl D. Thompson and John C. Kennedy, prominent Socialists, are among the signers of the call. It reads in part as follows:

To the People of America:

For half a year the greatest calamity in history has run its unchecked course. Half a million human lives already wiped out, two and a quarter million men wounded or diseased, military costs aggregating seven billion dollars, and commercial losses of twelve billion dollars—this, at a conservative estimate, is the result of four decades of armed peace, of military "preparedness"—not to speak of the unfortunate non-combatants, the widows and orphans, the aged and infirm; nor the hunger, disease, privation and suering of millions of innocents not even in the war zone.

The undersigned, in behalf of thousands of their fellow citizens, invite you to meet in Chicago on Saturday and Sunday, February 27 and 28, 1915, for the purpose of

1. Formulating and adopting a plan by which the sympathy, influence and aid of the American people may be tendered our sister nations in arms and the cause of an early peace promoted;

2. Preparing a constructive program for peace which shall stand as the expression of unofficial America on the problems arising out of this war; and

3. Devising ways and means by which the program adopted may be spread and discussed throughout the nation and in foreign countries.

Will you assist in making this nation-wide conference a tremendous demonstration of the overwhelming peace sentiment of American democracy?

Yours in the name of Humanity,

The Executive Committee of the Emergency Peace Federation

Jane Addams, Chairman; Louis P. Lochner, Secretary; Mrs. Bertram W. Sippy, Treasurer.

Margaret Haley,	Peter J. O'Callaghan,
Martin D. Hardin,	Raymond Robins
Florence Holbrook,	Eve W. Schutze,
John C. Kennedy,	Joseph Stolz,
Jenkin Lloyd Jones,	Graham Taylor,
Henry C. Morris,	Carl D. Thompson.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE

Object: To organize all peace forces and to bring their pressure to bear upon public opinion and the governments of the world to the furtherance of the followings ends:

I. TO SECURE THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES:

Either

1. The President of the United States shall be urged to invite the neutral nations of Europe to send envoys to meet our envoys to be appointed by him. This joint delegation shall urge upon the nations now at war that they declare a cessation of hostilities until the message of our nation shall have been delivered. This armistice, it is confidently expected, will be the first step toward permanent peace.

Or

2. An early conference of the neutral powers of the world shall be held, which conference shall issue a joint offer of mediation to the warring nations.

II. TO ENSURE SUCH TERMS OF SETTLEMENT AS WILL PREVENT THIS WAR FROM BEING BUT THE PRELUDE TO NEW WARS, AND AS WILL HOLD THE BELLIGERENT POWERS TO THEIR SLOGAN THAT "THIS IS A WAR TO END WAR":

1. No province shall be transferred from one government to another without the consent by plebiscite of the population of such province. The plebiscite, in which women shall be included, shall be taken by an international commission of neutral nations.

2. No war indemnities shall be assessed.

3. No treaty, alliance, or other arrangement shall be entered upon by any nation, unless ratified by the representatives of the people. Adequate machinery for insuring democratic control of foreign policies shall be created.

III. TO PLACE THE FUTURE PEACE OF THE WORLD UPON SECURER FOUNDATIONS:

1. Foreign policies of nations shall not be aimed at creating alliances for the purpose of maintaining the "Balance of Power," but shall be directed to the establishment of a "Concert of Nations," with

(a) A court or courts for the settlement of all disputes between nations;

(b) An international congress, with legislative and administrative powers over international affairs, and with permanent committees in place of present secret diplomacy;

(c) An international police force.

2. As an immediate step in this direction, a permanent League of Neutral Nations ("League of Peace") shall be formed, whose members shall bind themselves to settle all difficulties arising between them by arbitration, judicial or legislative procedure, and who shall create an international police force for mutual protection against attack.

3. National disarmament shall be effected in the following manner: It shall be contingent upon the adoption of this peace program by a sufficient number of nations, or by nations of sufficient power to insure protection to those disarmed. It shall be graduated in each nation to the degree of disarmament effected in the other nations, and progressively reduced until finally complete.

3. The manufacture of armaments shall be nationalized, and the export of munitions of war from one country to another shall be prohibited.

5. The protection of private property at sea, of neutral commerce and of communications shall be secured by the neutralization of the seas and of such maritime trade routes as the Dardanelles, the Panama, Suez and Kiel Canals, the Straits of Gibraltar, etc.

6. National and international action shall be secured to remove the economic causes of war.

7. The democracies of the world shall be extended and reinforced by general application of the principle of self-government and by the extension of suffrage to women.

Hon. August Schvan, former Secretary of the Swedish Legation at Petrogard and Chamberlain to the King of Sweden. Hon. W. Morgan Schuster, former Treasurer-General of Persia. Dr. John Metz, Munich, Germany, President of the International Federation of Students "Corda Fratres." Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, Hungary, Representative of the International Suffrage Alliance. Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston, Secretary of the Woman's Peace Party. Hamilton Holt, Esq., Editor of the New York Independent. Samuel Gompers, Washington, President of the American Federation of Labor. Morris Hillquit, New York Committeeman of the National Socialist Party. Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, Pastor Broadway Tabernacle, New York City. Hon. J. Stitt Wilson, Mayor of Berkeley, California, Member National Executive Committee, Socialist Party. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Pastor of the Free Synagogue of New York. Dr. James J. Walsh, New York, Author "Catholic Churchmen in Science."

We go to press too early to be able to report the result of this Conference. But it is vitally important that Socialism be well represented. J. Stitt Wilson of the National Executive Committee is one of the speakers.

There can be no peace till Capitalism is ended.

"THE BATTLE OF THE LAST DAY"
By A. M. Kinney

The armies of greed are assembled;
The Nations are armed for the fray;
Our rulers are eager for conquest,
The plunderbund eager for prey.
The people are bowed 'neath the burden
Imposed by the war lords of Earth,
While the kings and the plutocrats revel
In orgies of pleasure and mirth.

'Twill be the last battle of nations,
Foretold by the Prophets of old;—
The battle for plunder and profits,
The battle for power and gold.
The World is awaiting the signal
For carnage so dreadful and fell,
That men will forget they are human,
And rival the foul fiends of hell.

The Signal is given, O Father,
We pray you, to hasten the End.
O God, we beseech you, to listen,
And Christ, our Redeemer, to send.
For out of the bloodshed and trouble
We know, will arise the New Day,—
The Day of redemption and freedom,
When men shall be happy and gay.

The kingdoms of Earth shall be vanquished
In a wild saturnalia of crime;
Earth's systems and churches shall vanish,
And anarchy reign for a time;
Then out of the ruins, triumphant,
Christ's Kingdom on Earth shall arise,
And the Will of Jehovah shall govern
On Earth, as it does in the skies.

The Gathering of the Eagles

By William H. Watts

> **"And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, free and bond, both small and great."—Rev. xix:17-18.**

Ninety-nine years after the Battle of Waterloo, and nineteen hundred and eighteen years after the song of the angels at Bethlehem, the weeping skies of Europe look down upon a scene of horror more awful than anything this world has ever known before. Not thousands, but millions of men and boys are slaughtering each other by machinery; towns in ruin, crops trampled into the mire, rivers choked with corpses and fields drenched with blood! All the horrors of Waterloo and Gettysburg multiplied a thousand times; and not for two or three days, as at Waterloo and Gettysburg, but month after month!

Who are these raving fiends, shooting each other to pieces with such maniacal fury? They are the boys of Europe. Oh, the shame of it! The military age in continental Europe is from 18 to 21. That means that the first line of offense and defense consists of beardless lads with faces as soft as their mothers; Boys Good boys! Christian boys!

Boys from Christian homes, who, only a few years ago were lisping their prayers at mothers' knees. Boys from Christian Sunday schools and Churches. Boys who love their homes and love the home folks; and who tore themselves from the clinging embraces of mother and sweetheart to stake their lives on what they believed to be their duty.

German boys who a few weeks before, if they had seen a Belgian or French or English lad in danger of his life, would have risked their lives to save his. Belgian and French and British boys and young men who, a short time ago, if they had seen a German lad in danger of his life would have taken any risk to save him, and now they are killing each other! Why is it?

Oh, God, why is it?

From every heart in the world that has the imagination to feel and the intellect to ask a reason that cry goes up.

Official Christianity Helpless

Why did not Christianity prevent this war? Why was the Church of Jesus Christ unable to control the situation? After sixteen hundred years of official Christianity the great organizations that profess to represent Christianity to the world have failed miserably; and Christian brothers who take the elements of Holy Communion from the same altar are spilling each other's blood with the savagery of fiends. Franz Joseph kneels before a Roman Catholic altar to pray that his boys may be the most successful in killing their brothers; Kaiser Wilhelm kneels before a Lutheran altar to pray that his boys may be the most successful; Czar Nicholas kneels before a Greek Catholic altar to pray God's blessing on the bloody work of his brutal Cossacks, and King George kneels before an Anglican altar to pray to the same God for his professional man-killers; while the poor old Pipe dies broken-hearted, with scarcely faith enough to raise one cry to Heaven for peace, and the great Roman Catholic Church stands before the greatest crisis that ever confronted the human race as helpless as a driveling idiot, utterly unable to prevent her own communicants from killing each other.

Even the Socialists are marshalled in the lines of death, and the 110 Socialist deputies in the German Reischstag voted for the Kaiser's war budget at the beginning of the war—because they would not desert the Fatherland in the face of the Russian invasion.

* * *

War is not caused by great armaments. We do not fight because we are armed; we arm because we fight; and we fight because we have something to fight about; because we

WILLIAM H. WATTS

have problems to solve that we have not learned to settle by peaceable methods. Disarmament would not prevent war. If all of our present military equipment were destroyed we would fight with primitive weapons such as our ancestors used before more scientific methods of killing were devised. The only way to prevent war is to remove the bone of contention; to solve our problems, to dispose of the issues, so that men will have no reason to fight; and when we no longer have any reason or necessity for fighting, the armament question will take care of itself.

A Rich Men's Quarrel

General Fred. Grant, of the United States Army, is reported to have said at the Peace Congress in Chicago, "There has not been a war in the last 300 years that was started by a soldier or a soldier's ambition. Every war in that time has been instigated by business men and fought for commercial reason." In other words, "Every war is a rich man's quarrel and a poor man's fight."

Why is it that millions of intelligent men are willing to be led to slaughter in a quarrel in which they have no direct personal interest? If men would simply throw down their guns and fold their arms, and say, "We refuse to shoot each other," there could never be a war. As Shakespeare tells us, "War is a game, which were their subjects wise kings would not play at."

Every great problem that confronts us has two sides: an idealistic side and a materialistic side. Let us look for a moment at the idealistic side of this. For hundreds of years the institutions of education and religion have been prostituted by the upper classes for the purpose of making jingoes of the lower classes. **Even the birthday of the Prince of Peace has been made the occasion for giving boys picture cards with pictures of soldiers and battleships on them; toy soldiers, toy uniforms, and toy swords and guns.** Instead of teaching that war is something horrible and barbarous, and only to be resorted to in self-defense, the day schoolroom and the Sunday school class room have been used to teach that God is a God of battles; that this particular nation, whichever one it might be, has been chosen by him to perform a great mission, and that nothing is so honorable as to shoulder a gun to carry out the Divine purpose. Every racial and national prejudice has been appealed to and sedulously cultivated. **Every slight difference in cast of features or tint of complexion of any people whose ways were little known and understood not at all, has been made a brand of shame in the plastic mind of childhood and youth.** Christian brotherhood has been entirely forgotten in the contemplation of national glory and the cultivation of national and racial pride; and that national and racial pride has been manipulated upon the battlefield by the ruling classes in their own interests.

All this jingoistic teaching is mostly for the working class. How true it may be that Kaiser Wilhelm's sons are actually serving at the front we cannot yet know, but we read that **the Kaiser rebukes one of his sons for exposing himself to danger**; and we may well believe it. We also read that **the Prince of Wales wept because his father would not allow him to go to France with his regiment.** It was all very well to play soldier in times of peace, but a prince's life is too precious to be risked in war. His father **WON'T ALLOW IT. YES, AND THE TIME IS COMING WHEN WE, THE GREAT COMMON PEOPLE, ARE GOING TO SHOW OUR SONS THAT WE LOVE THEM AS MUCH AS KAISER WILHELM AND KING GEORGE LOVE THEIR BOYS; AND THAT THEIR LIVES ARE TOO PRECIOUS TO BE WASTED ON THE BATTLEFIELD; AND THE MOTHERS OF THE COMMON PEOPLE, THE MOTHERS OF THE PEOPLE WHO DO THE WORLD'S WORK AND FIGHT THE WORLD'S BATTLES, ARE GOING TO REBEL; AND THEY ARE GOING TO REFUSE TO GO DOWN INTO THE "VALLEY OF THE SHADOW OF DEATH" TO BRING BOYS INTO THE WORLD TO BE TURNED INTO FOOD FOR WILD-CATS AND BUZZARDS IN A BLOODY, BEASTLY STRUGGLE FOR COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY. COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY IN THE INTEREST OF STOCK AND BOND HOLDERS IS NOT WORTH THE PRICE!**

* * *

A Lesson in Economics

Now let us turn the shield over and look at the materialistic side. The motives of the promoters of war are materialistic enough, as we have just seen; but the primary cause of war does not lie in the realm of motive, but in the realm of economics. There is a general explanation for modern wars, and the explanation of one is the explanation of all.

Now comes a lesson in political economy. The worker goes to work in the morning and works all day, producing an exchange value. In return for this he gets a wage that is equal to only a part of the value he has produced. When he has worked long enough to produce the value of his wages he does not stop work and go home, but he keeps right on working and produces a value that he does not get. We call this value that he produces, but does not get, "Surplus Value."

As near as can be ascertained (it is a matter of some dispute) the wage earner in the United States gets about forty per cent of the value of his product. Out of the other sixty per cent of value, the surplus value, the employer meets his overhead charges, his insurance, taxes, provides for his sinking fund, any rent that he may have to pay, interest on bonds

or money borrowed, and dividends on the capital stock.

Now after the wage earner has spent his wages and purchased all that his money will buy, and the capitalist and landlord have purchased all that they can consume there remains a surplus of commodities that cannot be sold in the home market. The worker would like to buy these commodities, but his wages are too low; he cannot. These surplus commodities are "dumped" on foreign markets; frequently for very much less than is charged our home people for the same article, in order to realize something on them, and prevent the stagnation of the home market.

Sometimes goods are produced faster than both the home and foreign markets can take them and they accumulate in the warehouses and are temporarily unsalable. This condition is commonly called "over production," but it is simply under consumption. It arises from the fact that the wages and salaries paid to the producing classes are less than the value of their product. When that condition obtains, the industrial plants are shut down because there is no demand for the goods; thousands of men and women are thrown out of employment, and we have bread lines and bread riots.

In order to prevent that condition of acute poverty that manifests itself in soup kitchens, bread lines and bread riots, we must dispose of our surplus commodities in foreign markets. Then the factory wheels go round and labor is employed. A country having the machine system of production is most prosperous when it is producing goods the fastest, and can find a ready sale at home or abroad for all it can produce; when it exports more than it imports. We are most prosperous when the balance of trade is in our favor. When instead of exchanging even, with foreign countries, we send out very much more than we bring in and foreign gold has to be sent in to us to balance the account. When the "balance of trade is in our favor" it means that foreign gold is accumulating in our banks and must be invested. Our wealthy men, in addition to the vast incomes which the home market affords, which they are utterly unable to spend, have a great income from their foreign trade; and these accumulating funds must be invested. If the funds accumulating in the banks cannot be invested our banks cannot do business, and the whole financial world is stagnated.

The Inherent Contradiction

As the machine system of production develops, the field of investment for capital becomes constantly smaller, at the same time that the quantity of capital seeking investment is becoming constantly larger. The more perfect the system of machine production, the less room there is for further investment, and, at the same time, the more perfect the system of machine production, the greater is the income seeking investment; and as the home fields of investment become insufficient capital must go to South America or Africa, Turkey or China. That is the way the world is being capitalized. That is the historic function of capitalism and the capitalists; to capitalize the world; to plant and organize machine production and distribution in preparation for a better social order.

So we have a surplus of commodities seeking a foreign market and a surplus of capital seeking foreign fields of investment; and if we cannot find a sufficient foreign outlet to drain off this surplus our whole industrial and financial system is brought to a standstill. Any capitalist nation that cannot find sufficient foreign markets and fields of investment is threatened with starvation, riot and bloody revolution at home.

The Root of Conflict

Now let us look at Europe. Great Britain, Germany, France and Russia are the four great commercial rivals of the old world. (Please to remember that the Austrians are a Germanic people. When we say Germany we may as well include Austria, for Austria and Germany are racially and commercially one people). We, of America, have heretofore had plenty of room for capitalist expansion within our own borders. The old world powers have not. Great Britain, Germany, France, and, later, Russia are the countries in which machine production is most highly developed and which have felt the need of foreign outlet for their surplus capital and commodities most severely. That is the meaning of the colonial policies of Great Britain, France and Germany and the territorial expansion of Russia to the south and east. Each new colony is a new market and a new field for investment. Siberia is a poor field for investment, and the simplest and most logical method of commercial expansion for Russia is the enlargement of her home boundaries.

The kings and other members of the royal families of Europe are great landlords and capitalists. In fact, they have millions upon millions invested in American securities. They are world investors. These royal investors and their capitalist colleagues have vast incomes that must be reinvested, and their subjects are producing vast quantities of commodities that the domestic market cannot absorb because the wages of the people are so low that they are too poor to buy them.

The necessity for commercial expansion may be readily understood, however; but what is the particular application of this explanation to the present war?

Analysis of the Situation

Take a map of the world, drawn on Mercator's projection, and lay a ruler on the map so that one end of the ruler will touch Hamburg and the edge cut through Constantinople. The line rune straight across the plateau of Asia Minor, down through Arabia to the Persian Gulf. From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf is about the same distance as from Portland, Oregon, to Portland, Maine; and just a few hundred miles farther, across the sea and turning a little to the east, is Bombay, with direct railroad connections to the far east.

Three-fifths of the distance from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf is occupied by what was formerly the Turkish Empire. Remember that the Balkan States were formerly a part of Turkey; and the history of the Balkan States is the history of the crumbling of the Ottoman Empire before the attacks of machine production and the consequently higher standard of education, living and culture that goes with machine civilization.

For thousands of years, what is now Turkey was the commercial highway of mankind. When the Suez canal was completed, its importance was increased; and when the projected railroad from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf is finished the old overland caravan route will be restored with the locomotive in place of camels and dromedaries.

Turkey has a soil so rich that with the rudest kind of cultivation the largest crops can be raised; and a climate that will grow almost anything that can be grown in both the torrid and temperate zones; while underneath her mountains are vast deposits of coal, iron, silver and copper that have scarcely been touched. The population of Turkey, before the Balkan War, was roughly estimated at 35,000,000 people. Think what that means from a commercial standpoint! 35,00,000 people who have scarcely begun to use the conveniences of modern civilization!

Railroads to be built, mines to be developed, modern agriculture to be introduced, modern machinery to be installed. Great cities and towns with no electric lights, gas plants, water works, street railways or pavements. Millions upon millions in fat franchises and contracts awaiting the foreign investor!

A Scramble for Slices of Turkey

Turkey, preyed upon successively by France and Great Britain on the south and driven back by the Russians on the north and northwest, has tried to make a friend of Germany by giving concessions to Austrian and German capitalists and colonists. Nearly every railroad and mining concession in Turkey is owned by Austrian or German capitalists. That is Turkish diplomacy; to protect her own weakness by playing one power against another. If a Pan-Slavic Federation is formed of the Balkan states, under the protection of Russia, it means that Russian capitalists will secure the favors in the Balkan states; that Russia will have direct railroad connection with Salonika and Constantinople; that she will open the Dardanelles to her Black Sea fleet and her naval power will be doubled. She will be master of Turkey and the Balkans and German-Austrian expansion in that direction will be absolutely blocked.

If the Balkan states are added to the Austrian Empire it means that Austrian capitalists will seize the opportunities of the Balkans; that Austria will secure direct railroad connection with Salonika; that German capitalists will complete the railroad from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf, and that Germany will colonize and control the Turkish Empire.

That is the meaning of the war! Kaiser Wilhelm was confronted with the necessity of crushing his commercial rivals before they became powerful enough to crush him. Think not that Kaiser Wilhelm and Franz Joseph are sinners above all the rest of mankind. They are not. Let me call your attention to the fact that horse meat is a common article of diet among the working classes of Berlin. Only a short time before the war Prof. Ballod, the foodstuffs expert of Germany, warned the empire that within a few weeks the industrial population would be facing a famine, and that the consumption of milk, butter and eggs would probably have to be reduced eighty per cent. The rulers of Germany and Austria had to fight this war sometime, and that right soon, or else see their capitalists bankrupted and their working people reduced to beggary; or else, the only other alternative, they had to become Socialists; and that the German people themselves were not ready for, even if their ruling classes had been. Kaiser Wilhelm, apparently, has taken the only course open to him under the circumstances.

* * *

What folly to try to place personal responsibility for this war! There is no personal responsibility. "Judge not, that ye be not judged." We can never find the solution for any public problem as long as we waste our time and energy running about trying to find the individual to blame. IF YOU WANT TO FIND THE PERSON TO BLAME, BEGIN WITH YOURSELF. When the mass of mankind begin to take an active, intelligent interest in matters of public importance, we may be able to avoid such horrors as are now afflicting Europe. Until we do, we shall have to suffer the consequences of our own sinful indifference.

The same causes that produced war over there will produce war over here. If Great Britain and France have their Turkey and South Arfica, America has her Mexico and South America. If Great Britain has her Suez Canal to defend, America has her Panama Canal to defend. Our capitalists are just as greedy and unscrupulous as the capitalists of Russia, Germany and Great Britain. We have seen them seize upon this war as a pretext to extort an additional twelve per cent upon the price of food all along the line, not to mention the recent jump in the price of wheat. They will invest that increased profit south of the Rio Grande and the Caribbean, if necessary, at the muzzle of a gun, if they can use the power of the United States Government for the protection and promotion of their own interests in the future as they have done in the past. Beware! Increased trade with South America means increased danger for all concerned. Already we have won, and rightly so, the cordial hatred of the people of Mexico, Columbia and Venezuela; and a Latin-American coalition to break the power of the great bully of the north is not an impossibility. Beware! Brotherly love and commercial greed cannot operate successfully in the same territory at the same time. Have we Christian Americans grace enough and sense enough to learn a lesson from Europe's disaster?

* * *

The Way to Peace

What is the remedy for war? There is but one cause of war, and the remedy follows logically from the analysis of the cause. We must raise the wages of the working class to the point where they can purchase all the commodities on the market as fast as they are pro-

(Continued on Page 7)

ARMY HEADS ACCUSED OF TREASON

Charges that an American war munitions ring has extorted between $35,000,000 and $105,000,000 in illegitimate contract profits from the United States government in the last twenty years, and that army and navy officials are closely connected with the favored concerns, were submitted to the House February 15 by Representative Clyde H. Tavenner of Illinois.

The charges that the Du Pont Powder Company, of which Senator Du Pont of New Jersey is the head, regularly exchanges information with Germany as to the state of national defense in the United States.

He charged that government secrets were sold to foreign powers by government officials.

These charges, if true, constitute grounds for the charge of high treason.

First Charge

Waste $7,000,000 Each Year

The Illinois congressman asserts that the war munitions combine annually overcharges the government the following amounts:

Powder	$1,500,000
Armor plate	3,500,000
Artillery ammunition	1,300,000
Small arms ammunition	700,000
Total	$7,000,000

The principal concerns in the combine, according to Mr. Tavenner, and the aggregate government contracts each has had in the last twenty years follow:

Bethlehem Steel Company	$42,321,237
Midvale Steel Company	20,353,298
Carnegie Steel Company	32,954,377
Du Pont Powder Company	25,000,000

The congressman proved by documentary evidence that these companies are united with a world trust with headquarters in England which has preyed upon the military necessities of all nations.

Second Charge

"Brigadier General William Crozier, the present chief of ordnance, was formerly in partnership with the Bethlehem Iron Company, now the Bethlehem Steel Company, one of the great firms composing the war trust," said Mr. Tavenner.

"His remarkable promotion over twenty-seven officers of greater age and longer service, his clean jump over three entire grades—major, lieutenant colonel and colonel—to his present position, in which he determines the specifications, arranges the terms of contracts and makes the purchases of powder, guns, shrapnel, and all other military supplies for the ordnance department, furnishes an illustration of the rapid advancement possible to officers who make themselves agreeable to and are on friendly terms with the war traders.

Third Charge

"While a captain in the army, General Crozier perfected what is known as the Buffington-Crozier disappearing gun carriage. The gun was constructed in government gun shops by government workmen at government expense, hundreds of thousands of dollars being used to perfect the carriage.

"When the device was perfected a patent was taken out on it by Captain Crozier and General Buffington—then chief of ordnance—in their own names. The application for the patent was made by Captain Crozier and General Buffington at the suggestion of the Bethlehem company. In 1894 the two officers sold the patent to the Bethlehem company, giving them the rights as against all makers or users except the government of the United States.

"The two officers were paid $10,000 cash by the Bethlehem company, which concern further agreed to pay Captain Crozier and General Buffington royalties on all gun carriages sold to foreign nations until the same should amount to $40,000 or $50,000 in all.

"Captain Crozier was still a party to the contract with the Bethlehem company, when, to the amazement of army circles, he was nominated in March, 1902, for the position of chief of ordnance. This advancement meant a jump over the heads of twenty-seven officers and three grades, which was a violation of at least the spirit of an act approved Feb. 2, 1901."

Fourth Charge

In connection with an analysis of the powder contracts Mr. Tavenner said:

"The history of the transaction between the government and the Du Pont Powder trust average with the history of the dealings between the governmnet and the armor makers. The aggregate of the sums paid the Du Pont trust in excessive and extortionate profits no doubt runs into the tens of millions. Senator Du Pont of New Jersey is the head of this powder trust.

"In the period between 1905 and 1913 alone the government purchased 29,565,512 pounds of powder from this trust, paying on an average of 80 cents a pound for 3,297,712 pounds of .30 caliber powder and an average of 65 cents a pound for 29,565,512 pounds of army and navy smokeless powder, or a total of $21,998,250.

"The government is now manufacturing powder for 36 cents a pound, all overhead charges included, and the larger the quantities it manufactures the lower the cost. If the government had manufactured all of the powder it purchased between 1905 and 1913, it would have cost $11,830,754, instead of $21,998,250, or have resulted in a saving of $10,167,496, enough to build a first class battleship."

"There have been nine official estimates as to the actual cost of the manufacture of a ton of armor plate," he said. "The average estimate is $247.17. Yet since 1887 we have purchased 217,379 tons of armor, paying the armor ring an average of $440.04 a ton, or a total of $95,656,240. I believe I am well within the bounds of conservatism when I say that if all this armor had been manufactured in a government plant at least $35,000,000 would have been saved."

Congressman Tavenner's gravest charge is against a United States senator.

He quoted extensively from the agreement of the Du Pont and foreign powder companies dividing the world trade and providing for exchange of information concerning the orders of European and American governments for powder, and the prices paid.

"Nor is this the worst. The Du Ponts and the government have always been in the habit of exchanging all secrets in the manufacture of powder," said Mr. Tavenner. "Government chemists and government officers are continually experimenting to improve the quality of powder, and whenever they make a discovery of any character full information is furnished the Du Ponts.

"And the DuPonts have been in an agreement with a German firm—the United Rhenisch Westphalian Gunpowder mills—to give them every iota of this information. They even gave to the Germans information on the quantity and quality of powder purchased by the United States."

NINTH GENERAL CONFERENCE

Of the Christian Socialist Fellowship of America, Baltimore, Md., February 23rd to 28th, 1915.

St. Paul's Parish House, Cathedral St., North of Saratoga

Tuesday, 23rd, 8 p. m.—Mass meeting. Address of welcome and response Special music. Chief address by Rev. Irwin St. J. Tucker, of Chicago.

Wednesday, Thursday and Friday—Business sessions 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. 2:30 to 4:30 p. m.

Chapel of The Church of The Ascension, Lafayette Square.

Wednesday, 8 p. m.—Mass meeting. Rev. Charles G. Girelius, of New Jersey. "Socialism and Charity," and by Harvey P. Moyer, of Chicago, on "Is Socialism Necessary?"

Thursday, 8 p. m.—Mass meeting at St. Mark's Reformed Church. Address by Rev. A. L. Wilson, of Ridgefield, N. J.

Albaugh's Theater, 1209 N. Charles Street.

Friday, 8 p. m.—Stereopticon Lecture upon "Social Reconstruction" by the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, D. D., of New York. Address by Rev. Bouck White, Author of "The Call of the Carpenter," etc.

Saturday—Luncheon 12 m. 2 to 5 p. m., sightseeing in and around Baltimore.

Socialist Sunday, February 28th.

All pastors in Baltimore are being personally invited and urged to preach upon some phase of "Socialism" once at least upon this day.

JESUS' PICTURE OF THE JUDGMENT

Then shall the King say to them on His right hand "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. For I was hungry, and ye gave me meat; thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me."

Then shall the righteous answer Him, saying, "Lord, when saw we Thee hungry and fed Thee? Or thirsty, and gave Thee drink? And when saw we Thee a stranger, and took Thee in? Or naked, and clothed Thee? And when saw we Thee sick or in prison, and came unto Thee?"

And the King shall answer and say unto them, "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, YE DID IT UNTO ME."

Then shall He say also unto them on the left hand "Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels; for I was hungry, and ye gave me not to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me not to drink; I was a stranger and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not, sick and in prison and ye visited me not." Then shall they also answer, saying, "Lord, when saw we Thee hungry, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto Thee?"

Then shall He answer them, saying, "Verily, I say unto you inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto

---

GOVERNMENT HELPS CAPITALISTS

The scientific laboratories of the government are constantly used to find cures for sick cattle, sheep and hogs to aid the stockraisers and packers, because Europe will not buy diseased meat with the same cheerful tendency to suicide that is manifest in America. Also, to assist "public service plants," privately owned, by solving problems connected with light and power, and in many other ways.

When the farmers need money to move their crops, instead of lending it to them direct at low interest through the post office, the government ships vast amounts of money to privately owned banks, charging little or no interest, and these banks make millions loaning the money to farmers at high interest.

American banks lately made known their needs in view of the money stringency occasioned by the Old World war, and the U. S. government promptly issued a vast sum to help the banks "relieve the people"—of their hard-earned cash by high interest.

Rich and middle class people are "broke" in Europe, and the government sends money to bring them home. But if the government should spend money to support the widows and orphans of men who have toiled and died insufficiently rewarded that would be "paternalism."

The government maintains an army of consuls in all countries to spy out opportunities for American business men to make money and protect their interests; but no money to protect the workers at home who need a human chance to live. Only injunctions, policemen's clubs, and murderous gunmen for them, if they cry out on the streets or strike.

And now we are to spend millions to help private capitalists get possession of ships to obtain the trade of the world while Europe is at war, and to establish banks and business agencies in South America for the purpose of enriching private business men.

Why does not the government own the ships, so that satisfactory service at reasonable rates would be assured?

Why does not the government attempt direct methods of enabling the producing toilers to obtain the product of their labor?

Why do not the people of the U. S. go into business for themselves instead of acting forever as catspaws to pull chestnuts out of the fire for a few selfish business men?

"Oh, that would be Socialism!" Yes, and common sense, which would result in universal prosperity.

Socialism and Religion

A Plea for Peace

By Irwin Tucker

Nothing has so impeded the cause of Socialism as the claim, so loudly made, that Science and Religion are foes to the death. Here is presented the argument which the chief spokesman of this claim, Arthur Morrow Lewis, found impossible to answer and forced him to withdraw from a second debate on the subject "Can a Socialist be a Christian?" Have you a friend who feels that Socialism and Religion are enemies? Will you not send him this argument, and see if he can answer it?

We stand today confronting the breakdown of world-civilization. In the fierce explosion of the European war, international Socialism has collapsed; international Christianity is weak and powerless, and international science—which we thought beyond the reach of national partisanship has gone mad. Nationalism has conquered internationalism.

For internationalism was only intellectual, a mere conception; whereas nationalism was a passion, against which reason had no force.

Standing at this great wreck of what we called civilization, all citizens of the world must search and see how best a new start may be made, and along what lines the reconstruction shall take place.

The two greatest world powers are religion and science. Science lays bare to the intellect the methods and processes of nature, and shows how we may govern the world by its own forces. Religion is the greatest motive power, the permanent means of social impulse. These two great powers must be brought together—science the head, and religion the heart of the world—to build a new and true civilization on the smouldering ruins of the old. My contentions are three. They are these:

1. Religion is a necessity of social life.
2. Each social life expresses itself in a religion suited to its conditions.
3. The natural expression of a Socialist society will be in the form of Christianity.

What Is Religion?

In discussing religion from a scientific point of view, it is necessary to get a definition which will cover its whole range, from the lowest to the highest form. I define religion, therefore, as **the bond between the individual and the dominant group.**

If the dominant group be the Family, then the religion will be a family religion. If the dominant group be the Clan or Tribe, then the religion will be tribal. If the dominant group be a nation, there will be a national religion; if international or world-wide, religion will be international in character. The religion of any group is the link which binds the component individuals to the group.

It needs no argument to show that social life is higher than individual life. Neither is argument required to show that all life seeks to be social. A stone or a grain of sand, being inorganic, can remain single. But a cell, being alive, seeks to combine with other cells to produce a higher form of life. And even a cell, the lowest form of life that we know, is social in nature; since it consists at the least of nucleus and protoplasm, and some say of centrosomes and biogens as well.

Sociality the Essence of Life

The essence of Life, therefore, is sociality. Organic life IS social life, whenever and wherever it appears. Social life, whether in cells, plants, animals, men or societies, is absolutely and always dependent on the strength of the SOCIAL BOND; that is to say, the power which unites the individual's life with the group life, and makes it subordinate thereto. If this bond is absent, or if it is weak and unable to control the acts of the individuals, the group perishes.

The greatest marvel of the wide range of science is the directive power of the social bond. How a single cell flowers out into a filament; how this filament grows and shapes and branches and divides and takes form, until from the single cell there has grown a body; and how the life-force within guides and directs every step in this marvelous process along pre-determined lines, so that the cell of man always becomes man, that of fish always becomes fish, that of plants becomes plant, that of birds becomes bird—this is a marvel beyond all other marvels in the vast world of life. Second only to it is the wonder of how this life-force makes repairs, adapts means to conditions and ends; marshals groups of cells and governs their actions to produce the desired end in the shortest possible time.

Prof. Thomas Dwight, Professor of Anatomy at Harvard, says in a recent book: "The cells of the mesenchyme (middle skin of an embryo) behave just as workmen do who are to construct, say a bridge. All of them can do every single act, all of them can assume any single position; the result is always to be a perfect bridge, even if some of the workmen are killed by an accident." "In the repair of injury even the tiniest cells meet some altogether unforseeable accident and overcome it, under the direction of the co-ordinating power."

Life itself is, therefore, impossible without this social bond which links the individual with the dominant group. As we go higher in the scale of group life, this bond must change. The cells of the ear owe their allegiance not only to the ear, but also to the body. "If the body were all eye, where were the hearing?" as St. Paul remarks.

Cancers and tumors are the result of disloyalty to the dominant group; certain subdivisions of the body growing too fast for the good of the whole, and becoming malignant and evil instead of good. The social bond must be to the whole group, the dominant group; else disorder and death result. It is so in a labor union, so in a Socialist local, so in the Socialist Party, so in a nation.

Man and Tiger

The sabre-toothed tiger was the highest reach of individualism. In this species, every individual was fully equipped with tooth and claw, and, individually, was invincible. One man, matched with one tiger, was helpless. Only a group of men was able to master so savage a foe. Thus organic life flowered into social life; families and clans, acting together as one social organism, were able to overcome the highest reach of individual excellence.

This was where mankind began. And every step in the development of humanity is **equally dependent on the strength of the social bond.** In the struggle of wild desert tribes for subsistence, the individual must be ready at all times to give his life for his tribe. The tribe which cannot command the allegiance of its members has **already perished.**

Self preservation demands that each man keep himself at the fullest tensity of his powers. But group preservation demands that he yield his life, if need be, to save the life of his tribe. The traitor to his tribe is the death of it as surely as the traitorous cell or organ means the death of the body.

Now this social bond IS life, expressing and protecting itself. We do not know how animals feel it, nor in what form it presents itself to them; but we do know that to human beings, even the lowest of them, **THIS SOCIAL BOND IS THEIR RELIGION. On the intensity of their religious feeling depends absolutely their survival as human beings.**

Origin of Ancestor-Worship

This social bond first appears as a blood-bond. It has its root in the fellowship of the family. Consequently it expresses itself most frequently in its lowest stage as ancestor-worship. Since the ancestor is the origin of the tribe, and since it is his life which flows in their veins, then it is most natural that loyalty to the tribal life should be expressed by loyalty to the ancestor.

"I am the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," was the way the Israelites expressed their allegiance to the life which animated their dominant group. But every other social organism, of what ever kind, reverences the memory of its founder.

American school children revere the memory of George Washington; Socialist Sunday schools sing to the memory of Karl Marx; for precisely the same reason that every loyal family reveres its grandfather, and the savages worship the shades of the mighty dead. It is their way of expressing their loyalty to their dominant group, by virtue of which they are what they are.

The first point is, then proven, that **RELIGION IS NECESSARY TO SOCIAL LIFE.**

The second is that **EVERY SOCIAL LIFE EXPRESSES ITSELF IN A RELIGION SUITED TO ITS CONDITIONS.**

Science and Theology

This is no more than to say that we speak our own language, and our thoughts are determined by the conditions around us. Our religion presents itself to us as a social fact. **Our explanation of that social fact is our theology.** Theology varies from age to age, in accordance with the state of knowledge. In each day it speaks in the terms of the best science of that day. If science thinks that the sun, moon and stars are pushed round in their places by angels, then theology will assume that form. If science thinks that thunder is the voice of an angry god, religion will strive to please that god. Theology is the expression of the social bond (religion) in terms of the best knowledge of the day (science).

No Struggle Between Religion and Science

Consequently the struggle, so-called, between religion and science is a struggle between two stages of science. The scientists of one age are sometimes far in advance of those of a previous age; while the ideas of the previous scientists have become inbedded in the popular mode of thought. There is the same struggle between them as between the egg and the chick. But religion changes only as the dominant group changes. When a clan enlarges to a tribe; when a tribe becomes a nation; when a nation becomes part of an empire—then the religion—the social bond—must enlarge so as to include the whole of the group which has become dominant.

Relation of Science and Religion

Science is a weapon, not a power. It is a tool, forged by the reaction of life on its environment. It may be used, either for good or for evil. The power which guides it, if a social force, uses it for good; if an anti-social force, uses it for evil. Science is like a razor; used by a man, with sufficient skill and purpose, it is a good; used by a baby it means death.

Look at the European war! There we see to what science can bring us! It is science that has taught us how to drop bombs from the skies upon sleeping women and children; which has taught us to murder our fellowmen by thousands in bloody horror; which has taught us how to burn, ravage and destroy whole cities from afar; how to sink populous floating towns beneath blood stained waves by torpedoes from the depths of the sea!

Look at the Industrial Revolution! It was science that displaced the hand-loom for the factory; that invented the machinery which children could run, so that babies were fed to Moloch while their parents starved or be-

came degenerate criminals. It was science that urged the land-hungry lords of England to drive the people off the lands into the slums, that their villages might be made pastures for sheep, which were to be sheared for the newly invented mills of Flanders. It is science that makes possible child labor in the mills and factories of this land today.

Look at the Inquisition! It was science that invented the rack, the thumb-screw, the spiked bed, which lent these horrors to the war between two dominant groups—the Spaniards and the Moors—for the conquest of Spain!

Science Mother of Misery

Look at industry today! Every new invention displaces more laborers, and adds more men to the every increasing ranks of the unemployed. Scientific efficiency turns men into machines, and makes the inefficient into animals with less consideration shown them than is given to blooded pigs. Science, wrongly applied, is the mother of misery!

Whether science is a blessing or a curse depends on how it is used. It is merely a tool; a means of mastering nature by learning nature's laws. The same science that makes the peaceful plow, makes the bloody sword. **The same science that makes the torture-chamber makes the hospital.** What shall be the guiding force?

There must be a social impulse to guide social discoveries. It must be a bond linking **each individual with the dominant group**—which in our days is the whole human race, and the whole universe. **It must be a religion, intense in its grip, all embracing in its scope, seeking supreme the good of all men through the loyalty of each man.**

Socialism and Christianity

Marx first became a Socialist; then he studied Socialism. Every Socialist goes through precisely the same process. The desire—the impulse—comes first; then comes the search for knowledge of how to carry this impulse into effect. Was not this true of you? Many people know what Socialism is, but are emotionally repelled from it. First of all must come desire; a desire so deep and strong that it commands loyalty even against grave personal discomfort, long toil, bitter disappointments, and possible death. **There is but one religion strong enough, deep enough and high enough to be the link and bond between EACH man in the whole world and EVERY man in the whole world; and that is Christianity.**

What Is Christianity?

I am not defending the follies of every man who feels impelled to preach. Street-corner science does not differ more widely from the high reaches of pure science than does much pulpit religion from the religion of Jesus. The authority for Christianity is Christ; and to Him I turn.

How Did Christianity Arise?

Far back in the dawn of history, civilization centered in the valley of the Nile and the Euphrates. Egypt grew up along the Nile, Chaldaea along the Euphrates. Between them lay the vast triangle of the Arabian desert.

The religions of Egypt and Chaldaea were what we now call capitalistic; that is, property and not life was their basis of values. The land of Palestine early reached a high stage of civilization, for it lay upon the border land where the froth and foam of those two mighty empires swept continually over it.

Origin of Judaism

Out from the Arabian desert there was projected into the land of Palestine the Hebrews, a race of desert wanderers whose society was built on life, not on property. Their religion was totally different from that of the other nations. For they had been a race of slaves in Egypt; the lowest of the low; ground down under the iron heel of the Pharaoh. And their God had chosen them to be His own **because** they were slaves, **because** they were oppressed, **because** they were poor. The covenant on Sinai was this: "I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; for I have seen your oppression by reason of your task-masters, in Egypt, and am come down to deliver you."

Now the gods of the heathen always took for their own the kings, the princes, the rich, the conquerors, the victorious. But the God of the Hebrews chose for His own the slaves, the oppressed, the poor, the toilers; and their religion championed the proletarians from beginning to the end.

The struggle between these two systems of civilization, one based on property and one based on life, came to a crisis in the struggle of Elijah with the priests of Baal. It arose thus:

Ahab the king desired the vineyard of Naboth, and offered to purchase it with money. But Naboth repelled the offer with horror. "The Lord God of my fathers forbid it me, that I should sell the inheritance of my fathers for money!" So Naboth was stoned, and the king seized the vineyard. Then from the rocky slopes of Gilead came Elijah the Tishbite, and denounced the king in the entrance of the garden; and all Israel rose behind him. The victory at Mount Carmel meant that it was definitely established that the **basis of their civilization was not MONEY, but HUMANITY.**

Work of Jesus

Jesus simply took the old life-basis of the Israelite civilization and made it universal and world-wide. The old marks remained. The religion he proclaimed was a constant warfare between God and Mammon — between Life and Prosperity—as the basis of law and order. One was to be born into his religion, not by the fleshly birth of the seed of Abraham, but by the spiritual birth into the Family of God, the Father of the Spirits of all flesh; that is, into the Brotherhood of Man!

SOCIALISM MUST EXPRESS ITSELF IN THE FORM OF CHRISTIANITY! For the Socialist movement can never succeed until every man in it is filled with an intense and unswerving loyalty, governing his every move and thought, to the Human Race in its perfection. He must be loyal to mankind —not as it is, but as it may be; not only to his brothers whom he sees, but to all that are his brothers.

God—Our Father

Every child of man must—if we are to succeed in redeeming the world—look up into the face of that Eternal and Central Energy, out of which the universe comes as foam comes from the sea; that Energy of which you and I and all of us, like the planets and the dust, are manifestations; and say "My Father!" Every true scientist is a high-priest of that power, according as he searches for its truth. All science is built upon faith in this Energy. It is a three-fold faith:

First, a faith that this power keeps faith. What is found true today must continue to be true tomorrow and to the ends of the world, else there is no hope for knowledge of its laws.

Secondly, a faith in the intelligibility of the world. **There is no answer to a madman's riddle.** If reason can solve the processes of nature, it was Reason that devised them.

Thirdly, a faith in its beneficence. If the Power is evil, the more we learn of it the worse off will we be.

We must look up into the heart of this great Power which we can know, but not understand, and say "My Father! Out of this bosom I sprang, and to this bosom I shall return. All that lives came thence with me; and all things, then, with me are brothers. We are of one Life, Thou and I!"

* * *

God—Our Brother

And every child of man must look at the great heroes of the race; at all those who gave their lives, their toil, their high endeavors that the rest of us might live more fully and more free; at every manifestation of the Christ —and say "My Brother!"

"God is Love," said Jesus, "greater Love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." "Ye are my friends if ye do what I command you." "That is the true light, which lighteth every man coming into the world." Perfectly revealed in Jesus, but constantly revealed in every other vicarious sacrifice for the redemption of man, the Christ of God is the Sacrifice willingly offered, which has redeemed the world. And looking into the bleeding, suffering, triumphant face of each of the Heroes of Humanity, we must each stretch out our hand and say, "My Brother! We are Kinamen, Thou and I!"

God—Our Self

Yet this is not enough. Each one of all of us must look down and out upon the vast surging, boiling mass of humanity; loaded with all its sins and sorrows; black with shame and glorious with hope. We must look with a strong passion of love, **not upon what humanity is, but what it can be, when Science rightly used shall have made Humanity perfect,** and have incarnated into it all that humanity will hold of the goodness, beauty and truth that lies behind all seeming; and looking so upon Mankind as it May Be, feeling the pulse and surge of its spirit within us, say. "Myself!"

Until this strong passion fills every one of all the sons of men, Socialism will be impossible. And this strong passion is faith in the ever-blessed Trinity; the Threeness of God, who is My Father, My Brother and Myself—and is the core and center of the Christian Religion, which holds the hope of the Redemption of the world.

THE GATHERING OF THE EAGLES

(Continued from Page 4)

duced, so that there will be nothing to export. We must raise the wages of the working class to the place where there will be no profits accumulating in great masses of capital seeking foreign fields of investment. Just as a mighty river at flood time, bursting its banks and covering the valley, is fed by a multitude of tiny springs, so these great streams of capital seeking investment are supplied by little streams of profit from a multitude of businesses, and if we are to prevent this overflow of capital which makes war we must go back to the headwaters and turn these little driblets of profit back to the producers of wealth in the form of higher wages.

The capitalists cannot do it, even if they would. Kaiser Wilhelm cannot do it. Every business man knows that business must be conducted with a wide margin of safety, or else the business goes bankrupt. The kings and capitalists can no more prevent the accumulation of the surplus than they can control the movement of the tides. There is only one agency that can do business without profit, and that is public agency.

The nation must enter the industrial field on a sufficient scale to at least control the situation; to provide work for all the unemployed at a wage that will provide comfortably for them and their families; to raise the standard of living of the working class to the place where there will be no accumulation to migrating capital.

Any capitalist who cannot successfully compete with the nation must turn his business over to the nation. He will have lost the economic excuse for his existence just as the bankrupt competitor of the trust has lost the economic reason for his existence.

Then there will be no need of foreign markets or foreign fields of investment; for there will be no surplus commodities to send abroad and no surplus funds demanding investment; and there will be no manufacturers of war material seeking contracts.

But so long as the Turkish Empire remains as it is, a fruitful field of exploitation, so long will the menace of war persist. "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles gather together." There is no hope for peace so long as markets remain to be exploited, and capitalist rings are hungry for their exploitation. But one thing can bring peace; the coming of world-wide Socialism.

THE FOLLY OF FIGHTING

"My greatest regret is that I have been the author of three wars in which thousands of lives were lost."—Bismarck.

"War is the trade of barbarism."—Napoleon.

"A good man never makes a good soldier. The worst man always makes the best soldier. The soldier is nothing but a hired, legalized murderer." —Napoleon.

"The military profession is a damnable profession."—Wellington.

"Whenever there is war, the Devil makes Hell larger."—German Proverb.

Economic Determinism and Religion

By Rev. Paul Burgess

There is no teaching of Socialism that has caused so much offence to religious people as the doctrine of Economic Determinism. Even those who most sympathize with the movement of the laboring class for its emancipation are chary of it. Many, even of those who have identified themselves completely with the Socialist Party, regard Economic Determinism with suspicion.

What then are we to understand by Economic Determinism? Broadly speaking we may say that it means that the Social complex of a given people, and the moral and religious ideals that move it, are ultimately determined by economic causes; or in other words by the way in which the people make their living.

Economic Determinism does not mean that no other influences are at work; but it does say that the bread and butter question, the question of material possession, ultimately determines the trend of events. It is claimed by many that such a conception is outright materialism and that it destroys all idealism and all religion. Does it?

Economic Determinism and Theology

First then, how does Economic Determinism connect up with the doctrine of God?

Just here we must differentiate between two current conceptions of God. First there is the older conception of God the Creator, who set the world running and who has left it to run itself except for certain special interventions, such as feeding the Israelites miraculously in the desert, quickening the Virgin Mary to bear his Incarnation, etc., etc. This conception can be reconciled with Economic Determinism just as easily as with the law of gravitation or any other natural law. If consistent with the facts of the world, it in no way bothers God. He made the world so that its moral and religious as well as industrial history should be determined by economic causes.

Still less does the Doctrine of Economic Determinism affect the second prevalent conception of God as the immanent and directive, (personal or impersonal), Force of the Universe. Here we have, not the faroff God of the Deist, but the ever-present God whose workings we experience at every turn, but whom we always "see thro a glass darkly," since He is only manifested to us thro the secondary causes discernible to the senses, or discovered by the reason. Economic Determinism becomes then merely one of His ways of manifesting Himself.

Economic Determinism and Anthropology

But perhaps our good brethren think that Economic Determinism sins more against man than against God. Does it not appear as a sort of Predestination? And without the Free will of man, what becomes of Religion? I will not argue the fact that from Paul to Calvin and his followers, all the great theologians of the Church have practically denied the Freedom of man's will. Nor will we consider that remarkable fact that since Modern Science has been demonstrating by experiment, what the Church always believed by reason and faith, the latter has abandoned her ancient belief, that tho man acted purposely he can in no sense be considered as a free agent.

Sufficient to point out that even the most ardent advocates of Free Will fairly fall over each other in acknowledging that the will is limited in its Freedom. How will religion suffer if Economic Determinism be found to be just another limit to man's freedom, like gravitation, or chemical action? Religion seems still to be flourishing, though many predicted its early demise upon the acceptance of modern medical treatment. History may still be determined by Economic causes, and the individual remain free to love or hate his neighbors, despise or cherish his wife, fondle or abuse his children.

Economic Determinism and Ethics

But what becomes of morals under the reign of Economic Determinism? Give us a fixed standard of morals for all time and all places, says the ardent religionist, or ethics become utilitarian, expediency supplants moral conviction, and ultimately society itself collapses.

But what has become of morals in the Bible my good friend? Take any commandment of the Decalogue, for example, "Thou shalt not kill." As originally understood this commandment meant merely, "Thou shalt not kill thy fellow-tribesman." To kill a "foreigner" who did belong to the people of Jehovah, so far from being prohibited was even commanded. (Witness the command to exterminate the inhabitants of Canaan, the act of Jael, etc., etc.) A few hundred years later the first of the prophets whose writings we possess, Amos, broadened the conception of murder to include international relations (See Chapter 1 of his book). In due time Jesus is recorded to have said of those who wrote the earlier portions of the Bible, "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, 'Thou shalt not kill' but I say unto you that every one who is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment." Years passed and centuries and it occurred to no one that killing in war or in punishment was a transgression of this commandment. But today we are beginning to think that even this sort of killing is morally wrong. Where, good brother, do you find a fixed standard of morals for all time and all places? Certainly neither in the Bible nor in the History of the Christian Church.

But do not get excited. Moral standards are one thing, and moral acts are another. "For if there be a willing mind it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not." The moral and religious standards of a given time are determined by economic factors, but a man's willingness to follow those standards lies in his own free will, if you must have a free will or in his predestined temperament, if you want your own way. Certainly Economic Determinism should cause no trouble to him who believes that we are judged ultimately before a just and loving God according to the way we acted on the light we had.

Economic Determinism and Idealism

And finally now if we accept Economic Determinism must we throw overboard our Idealists? God forbid. The more ideals the better chance for progress, the more possibilities from which the material factors can choose. The ideal need not be a mere product of the material for the latter to determine it. It is a process of selection, and the ideal that the material side of life can get most out of survives. It is not necessary to maintain that the reformers of the 16th century definitely thought out their systems to please the rising merchant class. But in the struggle of ideals between Rome, the Anabaptists and the Reformers, who will deny that the success of the latter was ultimately the result of economic rather than religious factors? Luther fought sincerely for his ideal of justification by faith, but the princes who assured success to his cause had very different ends in view. Every ideal must run the gauntlet of the bread and butter question and if any gets thro it is because it has made its peace with that question. The ideal is real but so is the bread and butter question.

WAR—AND THE CHURCH

War has been declared! Between—GOD and MAMMON!

It was first proclaimed two thousand years ago by our Lord Jesus Christ when He said, "No man can serve two masters. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." With these words He summoned the Church to her supreme conflict with evil—to her Holy War.

But alas! the Church failed to understand and fulfil her mission. Throughout all the ages she has been singularly silent before the advances and encroachments of Mammon in the social order. Hence undoubtedly hers must be the chief blame, as the indirect cause, for this present European conflict—not to mention others equally mammon-caused. Let her reflect on that as she contemplates the horror of it all!

Doubtless also she meant to be faithful, but she did not rightly understand, and so she rallied her forces to the wrong point of attack. All along she has assumed the enemy to be entrenched in the heart of the individual. This has been her fatal mistake.

We know now, however, that human society is an organism—a great corporate human body; and that the spirit in this body of society controls the individual members thereof and impels them to good or ill—and not contrariwise (heredity and environment). We know also that the fundamental function of the human body is that of nutrition. Upon this basic function depends not only the life and growth of the body, but all its higher functionings, so that trouble here means trouble everywhere. Now the industrial system performs that function for the corporate body of society, and constitutes the basis of its life and growth and highest ideals of civilization. Yet what do we behold? The spirit of evil as Mammon entrenched and enthroned therein and ruling it—designed under God only for the service of the body corporate—in the interest of individual selfishness. Could perversion be worse? The result, a social condition "rotten at both ends" and well-nigh intolerable and ready to go to pieces in between!

Accordingly the new Social Science—coming to the aid of the Gospel, and revealing the seat and unmasking the power of the enemy—recalls the words of the Master and summons the Church again to her Holy War. As one has said, "The battle is joined between God and Mammon. It is indeed the Armageddon of our civilization." (Ward, "The Social Creed of the Churches.")

We have just seen how, in view of the German peril, all political parties in England laid aside their minor differences, and, rushing to the common standard, are found fighting side by side in the trenches for the deliverance of the Empire. But in this greater conflict it is God's kingdom that is at stake. Much more, therefore, does it seem to behoove all Christian people, of whatever school or name, to sink all minor differences, and rally to the help of the Lord against Mammon—who has long overrun His land and held His people captive.

Bad Axe, Mich. C. C. Kemp.

TEACHERS OPPOSE MILITARY TRAINING

By Mary O'Reilly

Military men and those commercial patriots, who would like to introduce military training into the schools, complain that their efforts are blocked by the uncompromising opposition of the teachers.

This opposition must stand against the united forces of capitalism which are reaching out for the minds of the children. Under the much abused title of "patriotism" the false propaganda of "jingoism" is taught. Text-books glorifying war and warriors are forced upon the teachers. If they wish to develop ideals of peace in the minds of their pupils they must fight against tremendous odds.

They need the sympathy and co-operation of the parents. They must feel the support of the constructive forces of society if they are to have the courage to go on. If the children are to be saved from a relentless Spartan system, which would take them from their cradles to be trained for war, their mothers and their teachers must save them.

If the future is to write something better in history than the black page our age is writing, mental liberty must be preserved for the pupils in the schools today.

This is the great task for the parents and teachers of America. They must understand each other and work together to keep the thoughts of war out of the schools and save the children for a society of industry and peace.

Will These Whom You Have Robbed and Starved Die for You?

THE LAW AND THE UNEMPLOYED

Enmity between the Law and the Unemployed is an inheritance from the English common law. At the days of the Protestant Reformation, which coincided with the beginning of the industrial revolution and the rise of machine production, the common people were herded by violence off the farms, the commons, and out of the country towns of England and forced into the cities. There they were compelled to beg to be hired. But there was no work for them to do; and the out-of-works, called "vagabonds," were treated like wild animals.

Under Henry VIII in 1830 ferocious legislation was enacted against the unemployed. They were to be tied to a cart and whipped until the blood ran; for a second offense they were to be mutilated and branded, and for a third offense put to death.

Edward VI enacted, in 1547, a law which punished lack of work with perpetual slavery, branding or death.

Until the year 1905, England punished with disfranchisement any man who was out of work and had to be publicly helped. The same was true in Massachusetts until a few years ago.

AMERICAN BRUTALITY

The callous brutality of America's treatment of unemployed in the West all last summer, is told in an article by George Creel in Harper's Weekly for September 26, and alluded to by Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson in his annual report.

In May of 1914 the State Labor Bureaus of Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma and the two Dakotas, wired to the United States Department of Labor for 100,000 men to harvest the wheat crop. They promised work for from two to six months, wages at $2.50 to $3 a day. Men swarmed into the fields from the whole country, beating their way on the bumpers. Vast crowds of men totally unfit for the work crowded in. There was no attempt to distribute them wisely.

Sioux City, Iowa, advertised for 5,000 men. Only 500 were wanted. The remainder were treated as wild animals and driven out of town with clubs, fire-hose and revolvers. In South Dakota men were even killed and only in Minot, S. D., where intelligent counsels prevailed and the men were allowed to speak freely was there no disturbance.

All through the South and West the work-seeker is regarded as a foe of the law. Every little constable and deputy sheriff gets a fee for each arrest he makes; and the work-seeker, being without friends, is his chief prey. The horrible inhumanity with which such men are treated is all but impossible to believe.

NEW YORK'S BRUTALITY

But for an example of calculated brutality, the answer of the city of New York to a plea for help for the unemployed will become a classic.

Controller William A. Prendergast of New York City, said at a conference for aiding the unemployed:

"New York City is not responsible for unemployment, and we will not adopt such a view of the city's responsibility. It is not a question of funds. The money market is such today that this city can get all the funds it wants for all the work it has to do. But we do not belong to your school of economics. If we did we would already be doing those things for the unemployed which you are urging us to undertake. But I will not let any appeal to sickly sentimentality or maudlin Socialism interfere with what I believe is right for the taxpayers of this city.

"While it is well to give work to the unemployed, we must remember that every dollar comes out of the pockets of tax-payers and it is our duty to look out for them."

It was Rev. John Haynes Holmes of the Church of the Messiah whose plea wrought the controller to a pitch of fury where he uttered these words.

"Every dollar comes out of the pockets of the tax-payers!" How did every dollar get into the pockets of the tax-payers? How but from the labor of labor's hand and brain that created the wealth of which it is a symbol? Yet it is "sickly sentimentality" and "maudlin Socialism" to pay any heed to the despairing, agonized cry of labor, the creator of wealth, for it is "right for the tax-payers" that labor should starve!

Should the city of Chicago adopt the plan of its municipal markets commission, it will have put an end to the long list of barbarities practised upon the unemployed; it will have accomplished a revolution so vast that it will affect all future history; for it will have asserted that the **DUTY OF THE LAW IS TO CARE FOR THE UNEMPLOYED**, not to suppress them.

The present law is the reflex of the present capitalist system. To alter the Law will mean to alter Capitalism; and the city of Chicago has clearly, boldly and officially demanded that **CAPITALIST INDUSTRY**, that is, **PRODUCTION FOR PRIVATE PROFIT, SHALL BE ENDED!**

LET LABOR RALLY TO THIS CALL, AND SEE THAT THE PLAN IS NOT THWARTED BY THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CARRY IT OUT!

ARE YOU WORKING?

The painters' union of the city of Chicago, in a pamphlet on unemployment, says:

"ARE YOU WORKING?" This question has taken the place of the usual salutation between the workers in our city. No longer "How are you?" or "Good morning" or "How is your family?" but "Are you working?" And if the answer is "Yes," it is more than likely to be followed by the plea "For God's sake, lend me a dollar!"

The report states that in the first 6 months of 1914 the painters' union lost 1,888 years, and $2,844,000 by unemployment.

WHAT CAN THEY DO?

An unemployed census of St. Louis by the mayor's committee found that in thirty city blocks, out of 2,107 working people visited, 779 worked full time, 466 part time, and 862 were idle. That is, 37 per cent were fully employed, 22 per cent were partly employed, and 41 per cent were idle.

Mr. Joseph A. Parks, in an address at the American Association for Labor legislation, declared that statistics show that 19,000,000 working people in the United States earn an average of less than $500 a year; and who, with their families, represent a population of more than 60,000,000, or TWO THIRDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. This is their average wage in times of prosperity. What is their condition when industrial depression strikes like a whirlwind across the face of the earth?

TO PREVENT UNEMPLOYMENT

Regularization of industry, establishment of public employment exchanges, systematic distribution of public work, prevention or absorption of surplus labor, unemployment insurance, and constructive care of the unemployable, are the six steps proposed in a practical program for the prevention of unemployment just issued in a twenty page report by Dr. John B. Andrews, secretary of the American Association on Unemployment from the association's headquarters at 131 East 23d St., New York.

"The time is past," says Dr. Andrews, "when the problem of unemployment could be disposed of either by ignoring it, as was the practice until recent years in America, or by attributing it to mere laziness and inefficiency. We are beginning to recognize that the causes of unemployment are not so much individual and due to the shiftlessness of 'won't works' as social and inherent in our present method of industrial organization."

This is an admission that until our present method of industrial organization is changed, unemployment with all its menace will continue. Any one who seriously studies unemployment brings up against Socialism as the only cure.

MARSHALL FIELD III. GIVES A STAG PARTY

On the day after the Hunger Parade at Hull House, Chicago, Marshall Field, III., gave a bachelor dinner at the Blackstone Hotel, says the Day Book. It was called a "Palm Beach" dinner. The centerpiece was a replica of the beach and groves at Palm Beach, the fashionable winter resort for millionaires in Florida.

There were tiny mounds of sand and miniature palm trees outlining the mirror which represented Worth Lake. And under the miniature trees and along the beach were tiny dolls in beach togs.

The place cards were miniature yachts and the favors were embossed boxes containing French dolls of bisque wearing the latest thing in hats and gowns.

It might be explained that nowadays at a fashionable dinner the host gives "favors," which are presents or souvenirs for the guests —possibly by way of compensation—paying them to come to the free eats.

After the eats the host and guests played bridge; and doubtless every one present thought he had a good time.

Now this young man, barely 21, never earned a dollar in his life. The chances are he never will earn a dollar, but will always be a parasite on the human family—living in luxury on the toil of others.

The fortune—or this boy's part of it—is probably in excess of ONE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS now. Before his grandfather died he tied up the fortune so that young Field won't get all of it until he is 50 years old, although he will have more than he needs in the meantime.

By the time he is 50 it is estimated that this grandson of old Marshall Field will be "worth" $400,000,000.

Much of the Field fortune is invested in Chicago land, which increases in value from year to year, as the population of this city grows and increases the demand for land; and the trustees are instructed by the dead hand to invest and reinvest the income from most of these millions for appreciation, so that young Field will go on absorbing into the fortune he doesn't control much of the growth and development of Chicago.

Besides the vast land holdings of the Field estate, many millions are invested in Commonwealth Edison, Peoples Gas, Chicago Telephone, Chicago street and elevated railway stock, Pullman Palace Car, steam railway and other stock and bonds.

So every street railway motorman and conductor, every street railway employe, every employe of the telephone company, the gas company and the electric light and power company—all these and many thousands more are working for young Marshall Field III.

Every incandescent globe, every arc light, every advertising sign in Chicago is twinkling off the pennies for this boy, night after night.

Every man or woman who pays a gas bill or an electric light bill is contributing part of it to young Marshall Field. And he gets part of every nickel paid to conductors and agents of the surface and elevated railways of Chicago.

Every time a man, woman or child buys anything in the great Marshall Field store he pays tribute to this young man—destined to be one of the richest of the world's multi-millionaires.

Every person who rides on a sleeping car, pays tribute to this boy—pays it through the Pullman sleeping car trust.

WHAT DO WE MEAN WHEN WE SAY THIS IS A FREE COUNTRY?

Here is a young man who has lived his life in England who never did a moment's lick of work either in England or in this country, usurping the place which God Almighty alone should have in the lives of millions upon millions of his fellow beings, in that they live to serve him.

BLACK SLAVERY KNEW NOTHING SO HUMILIATINGLY ABSURD AS THIS!

Emancipation from the galling yoke of this and similar gilded youths can come in only one way, and that is by Industrial Solidarity, striking for Industrial Democracy!

WALL STREET BLAMED

Upon Wall street was placed the ultimate blame for the industrial unrest that afflicts America—Wall street, including the great banking houses of Morgan and Kuhn-Loeb at the opening hearing of the Federal Industrial Relations Committee.

"Wall street is interested in dividends and so long as they come along Wall street is satisfied. The policy is to get them, by fair means or foul, by good or poor management."

The foregoing was testimony given by Roger W. Babson, a statistician and financial writer, at the first session in New York of the federal commission on industrial relations.

Seek Solution of Unrest

The avowed purpose of the inquiry is to determine whether or not these foundations and the conditions which made them possible are not inimical to the fundamental theories upon which the government of the United States was based. The testimony was essentially on the point that "absentee ownership" must be abolished and employment must imply participation in management.

Two Experts Testify

Samuel Untermyer, who was counsel for the Pujo committee, was the first witness, and the afternoon session was taken up by the examination of Mr. Babson.

Mr. Babson said: "The fact that only a few of the stockholders of our great industrial corporations are in control of the corporations' policies is largely responsible for the industrial unrest and for the unsatisfactory returns which capital is receiving from its investments."

"The bankers who control these industries have nothing against labor. They are simply indifferent to it. They are too busy with other matters to consider their employes. It is a matter of indifference rather than of antagonism.

"Eighty per cent of the control of our big industries is in the hands of men in the office buildings of New York, eight per cent is in the hands of directors, eight per cent in the hands of salaried officials, two per cent in the hands of employes, and two per cent in the hands of minority stockholders."

"Are the executive officials of these corporations qualified to determine their labor policies without the aid of the government or the co-operation of their employes?" Mr. Walsh asked.

"Yes, if they were let alone by Wall street. Wall street is interested in dividends and so long as they come along Wall street is satisfied.

"The policy is to get them, by fair means or foul, by good or poor management. If there are no dividends the office building managers will improve their plants, increase their efficiency, but otherwise they let them go."

Social Conditions Bad

Mr. Babson said that the effect on the general social condition of large fortunes made under the conditions that have prevailed for the last half century was bad. He said he could not see why a man who has made a fortune should be permitted to devise to his children the voting power on stock of the corporation which he has built up any more than a mayor of a city can devise his powers to his son.

This statement precipitated a long argument, the outcome of which was that Mr. Babson said the heirs should not inherit voting rights because they do not live where the industrial property is located.

DANBURY HATTERS—DRED SCOTT

Who's emancipated? One of the horrors of slavery so feelingly stressed in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was that homes could be sold over the heads of families. How about white men and their homes?

One hundred and eighty members of the Hatters' Union of Danbury, Conn., were ordered by the court of highest resort to pay to their former employers the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, or the sum of nearly three thousand dollars apiece. One-third of this sum, or $85,000, is the amount of damages claimed by the Danbury Hat Company because the hatters in order to win a strike, indulged in a boycott. This was declared to be a conspiracy in restraint of trade, and the fine assessed.

The case has been fought for eleven years, and now the last word is in. The one hundred and eighty members of this union must sell their homes, their furniture, their pianos (if they had them), their kitchen stoves—every last shred or stitch or stick of personal property—in order to atone for the crime of "conspiracy" under a law which has been specifically declared not to touch the act. The Dred Scott decision started a reaction in favor of the slaves; the Taff-Vale decision spurred England's trade unionism to organization; perhaps the Danbury decision will nerve American labor to intelligence.

And still Gompers and the Gomperites do not believe in a working-class party!

CONFIRMING SOCIALISM

The capitalist papers are full of discussions by noted men in Europe and America concerning the war, all agreeing that the main causes are economic, thus confirming the Socialist philosophy of history. The impotence of idealism, religion, the church and other educational and humanitarian influences against THE FORCES OF ECONOMICS has been fully demonstrated by the war. It must be so while capitalism is dominant.

Under Socialism, with competition dead, the forces of economics will work from the people and in favor of the people, not from kings and capitalists in favor of ruling families against the people's welfare! Their economic force will directly and powerfully promote peace instead of war,—not because human nature is changed, chance to prove its primitive instincts of race kinship.

SHELTER FOR CHICAGO'S HOMELESS YOUTHS

Following a suggestion made by Rev. Irwin Tucker the Episcopal Church in Chicago is grappling seriously with the problem of the unemployed. The city has agreed to turn over to them all the young men of 20 years old or under who apply for shelter at the municipal lodging house. The church has leased a large and well-fitted plant on Washington Boulevard, near the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, to be called the Cathedral Shelter, where these young men are cared for.

KING HUNGER—KING HUMBUG

We look with displeasure on war, and point the way to bring peace to our war-torn and grief-stricken brethren beyond the sea. Asking that our advice be taken for what it is worth, coming from the United States of America, where millions wander up and down the barren ways, shivering in the dead of winter, without hope, without home, without work, hungry, and without decent clothing.

It is true, and we admit it, that King Hunger of America, in command of the army of nine million unemployed, is not less cruel than the king humbugs of Europe.

The average American engaged in productive labor creates wealth to the value of $10 a day.

The nine million unemployed, if employed in productive work, would create wealth to the value of ninety million dollars a day. This is lost by their idleness.

The war in Europe costs but fifty million dollars a day.

Yet we find it easier to offer advice to others what to do, than to correct the evils so terrible that lie at our own doorsteps.

H. G. Cupples.

THE SIMPLEST SOLUTION

David P. Kingsley, president of the New York Life Insurance Company, urges that this country propose the cessation of the war on the basis of world-citizenship. He urges that all the nations of the world admit the citizens of every other nation to the same rights and privileges as their own citizens enjoy. "National sovereignty, as now interpreted," he says, "denies that the citizens of one nation are entitled to the privileges of and immunities of citizens of other nations. Whereas the affirmation that citizens of each state are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of every other state is one of the fundamental and greatest declarations of our Constitution. If this could be done by the forty-eight states of our Union, he says, why could it not be done by a dozen nations, if the people of those nations really want it done?"

This is the Socialistic dream, and always has been. This is the impulse which leads us to exalt the Red Flag above the Stars and Stripes and all other national emblems whatever. Why could it not be done? There is nothing but pride in the way—pride and the capitalist control of industry which demands special privileges for itself and plunges the world into war to secure these—

But it may be, as has often been suggested, that this tremendous war is the birthpang of the new civilization, the "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

WHY WAS VORWAERTS SUSPENDED?

Twice within a fortnight Vorwaerts, the official organ of the Social Democracy in Germany, was suppressed by the military censor, on the ground of "fomenting class hatred." James E. King, of The Boston Transcript, obtained a complete file of this paper and examined it carefully to see what this meant. "Careful reading of all the issues," he writes, "shows that no article tends toward class war in the usual Socialist sense. The present unity of the German people is asserted again and again. But what the paper vigorously fights is the 'Military class.'" It protested, for instance, against teaching little children to sing, to the tune of "A Little Bird Comes Flying," the following words:

"If only it were raining Frenchmen's blood
And snowing Russian heads,
We would pray the dear Lord
That the weather should never change!"

It quotes also from a soldier's song entitled "Hau Sie, lieber Gott," in a book by Realschul-Professor Fritz Ludin of Freiburg. This masterpiece is sold for the benefit of the Red Cross at one mark a copy. Vorwaerts entitles it "Kultur Dokumente." The verses are unprintably scurrilous. Another extract from a book by Hoftraiteur Muller of Altenburg is as follows:

"The foolish French we will do up
In a manner short but sweet.
Then we'll mince them in a cup
And use them for sausage meat."

For condemning such songs, Vorwaerts was suspended by the military censor.

THE BRAINS OF MORGAN

The illusion that Capitalists have Bigger Brain was completely and forever shattered when J. P. Morgan, Jr., heir to the gilded throne of the House of Morgan, went on the witness stand before the Federal Industrial Relations Commission and testified to an ignorance so complete, so abysmal, so utterly vast as to labor conditions, industrial conditions, political, social, educational, intellectual and religious conditions among the workers from whom his vast income is wrung that even the Commission, used as it is to such revelations, was appalled.

Half the nation's resources are under the control of a dunce! The princeling who inherited the rod of power over half the industries of this country is an egregious blockhead! He is irresponsible to any authority save his own whims. The nation's laws are cobwebs against such power as he wields.

But small as Morgan's brain is, it is a colossus compared to the brain of the worker who complacently casts his vote year after year to continue such men as Morgan in power!

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST

Published Monthly by
THE CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING CO.
Address: 5457 Drexel Ave., Chicago
Telephone Midway 4028

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One year—single subscription	$ .25
In Chicago, Canada and all foreign countries	.40
Five months subs in clubs of ten or more	.10

Bundle Rates

Single Copy, any address	.05
Orders for less than 10 copies, each	.02
Orders for 10 or more copies, each	.01
Bundle of 500 copies	4.50
Bundle of 1,000 copies	8.00

EDITORIAL STAFF
Rev. Edward Ellis Carr, Senior Editor.
Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker, Managing Editor.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTORS
Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch Jessie Wallace Hughan
Rev. Eliot White
Rev. Bernard I. Bell Rev. William M. Gamble
William H. Wattis
Harvey P. Moyer Rev. J. L. Smiley
Rev. Wm. A. Prosser.

NO BILLS FOLLOW THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. If you get it REGULARLY someone has paid for it. When your subscription expires we will notify you and STOP THE PAPER if you do not renew. If you receive a sample copy it is an invitation to subscribe at once.

Please do not send stamps for subscriptions or bundle orders above 50 cents. Do not send personal checks for less than $10.00, as we have to pay exchanges on all checks, unless you add 10c for exchange. We cannot be responsible for any money sent in letters. Use bank drafts, postoffice money orders or express orders.

THE TIME IS RIPE

Look down this list; choose where you will strike, and strike hard for the coming of the Day of Peace.

Send us a dollar for any of these four funds; with it we will send out ONE HUNDRED COPIES of the specified number of the Christian Socialist. We have the lists of names in this office. Do your part by paying for the sending. Strike hard! Strike now!

OUT-OF-WORK FUND

A large number of men, boys and women are making their living through these terrible times by selling the Christian Socialist on the streets of large cities. This fund goes to pay for printing their supplies. Join this fund today!

Out of Work Fund.

Previously reported	$12.25
T. J. Meadows, Kansas	.85
Benj. Vosper, Mich.	1.00
Theresa H. Russell, D. C.	2.00
Mrs. C. Kleihige, Kansas	.50
Mabel L. Vale, Ill.	1.25
Rt. Rev. Geo. Biller, So. Dak.	2.00
Helen A. Lee, Chicago	1.00
C. F. Runyan, Chicago	3.00
E. H. Halgerson, S. Dak.	.50
	$24.35

EMANCIPATION FUND

The Emancipation Number was largely written by Negro Socialists for their own race; but its message goes straight to the heart of white Wage-slaves. Every Dollar will send One Hundred copies to Negro Preachers or Teachers. We must have their help.

A DOLLAR CONTRIBUTED TO THE PEACE FUND

Will send this issue, the Peace Number, to a list of Preachers, Teachers, and non-Socialists and other professions. If desired specify War Number. If you desire to have them receive the WAR NUMBER also—the two go well together—we will send the TWO issues to One Hundred addresses for TWO DOLLARS.

THE LEWIS-TUCKER DEBATE

For many years the greatest drawback in the way of the success of the Socialist movement has been the loud predominance in it of a group of half-educated men who shrieked to high heaven that Socialism and atheism were synonymous. No good Socialist could have any religion they claimed; it was necessary to become "emancipated" from all the follies of the "God-superstition" ere one could hope for the coming of social justice.

Chief among these voices was that of Arthur Morrow Lewis, author of some ten or twelve volumes alleged to be on Socialism and for nine years Sunday lecturer at the Garrick Theater in Chicago. Just as one or two comparatively small toads with giant voices can make the air seem full of thunder, so Lewis' opinions were taken by many as being the official pronouncements of Socialism. And he shrieked for "Atheism" at the top of his powerful British lungs. Himself an expatriate, a man without a country, refusing to become an American citizen, he strove to turn the hunger for knowledge of the uneducated immigrants to his own profit by means of a "Workers' University Association"; to which he gave elementary lectures on natural sciences (such as most high-school pupils could give), but with such high sounding boasts that his hearers felt that they were climbing the heights of pure intelligence.

These hearers formed a solid indigestible mass in the Socialism of Chicago. They placed the opinions of A. M. Lewis above the acts and plans of Socialism; refusing to aid by any means the growth of any Socialism that was not coupled with "uncompromising atheism." Capitalist foes of Socialism seized upon Lewis' lectures with the greatest delight; and every foe of social justice exploited Lewis as being the one official exponent of what Socialism means.

This man challenged Rev. Irwin Tucker to debate with him on Sunday, February 7, on the subject "Can a Christian be a Socialist?" After the Hull House hunger parade, he excitedly insisted on making this a two-Sunday debate, that full advantage might be reaped of the publicity attending. To this Com. Tucker agreed.

The first debate came off according to schedule. It is violating no confidence to say that three interviews were held before the debate, in which Com. Tucker clearly outlined to Lewis what his contentions would be, who would be the authors quoted, and what would be the line of argument. Lewis seemed unable to get a grasp of this position, and did not give his own outline until the last five minutes before the debate, when he hurriedly read over a list of the points which he intended to make, that the debate might be approached with some knowledge of mutual positions.

The Scientific Argument

In his opening speech, Mr. Tucker presented his case from the standpoint of social psychology. It is substantially as given in another part of this issue.

Mr. Lewis' first reply consisted largely in a restating of his opponent's position in other terms. Apparently realizing that he had given his case away, he then began the cheap buffoonery which has made him popular with a certain level of intelligence. For example: "The Bible," he said, "began when Moses had a bad dream of a burning bush, caused by eating too much gefultefish the night before!"

Where Moses got the "gefultefish" out in the middle of the Arabian desert, near the rocky peak of Horeb-Sinai, he did not explain. The rest of his reply was mere mud-slinging.

In his rejoinder Mr. Tucker offered to prove, by unquestioned authorities, that what Mr. Lewis called "science" was fake science; that the authorities which he quoted as being decisive, such as Ernst Haeckel, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer—were either plain impostors, as in the case of Haeckel, or had been superseded as authorities by the developments of modern science. He again stated his definition of religion, and his main argument, and challenged a reply to his contention.

Mr. Lewis thereupon arose and withdrew from the debate. He told all who had bought tickets for the second debate to get their money back; expressed great sorrow that he had ever "entered upon this debate" and promised that never again would he cross swords with "a preacher like this."

In the closing five minutes Mr. Tucker again offered to meet Lewis at any time or place, or before any audience and prove his assertions. This challenge Lewis ignored.

What the effect of these tactics was upon Lewis' own pet audience can only be judged by the letters which have poured in upon this office since then. These quotations are from bona fide letters which will be shown to any one gainsaying their genuineness:

From a Student

"Having just returned from the debate at the Garrick, I must send you a note of appreciation. I am doing graduate work in Psychology and Education at the University of Chicago; and let me assure you I felt well repaid for the time and effort. . . . You know yourself how you wiped the floor with that 'prattling insignificance,' and let me assure you that there were several of us from the university who realized how glorious was the victory for the cause of Christianity."—W.

* * *

From Another Student

"As one who heard and saw today's affair at the Garrick I can not refrain from expressing my personal appreciation for the manner in which you handled the situation. . . . your opponent recognized that he could not meet you with credit to himself before the people who regularly pay to hear him, because your fundamental definition of religion and its function gave him no safe and effective point of attack, inasmuch as it differed so vitally from what he has been accustomed to hand out to those listeners as to what religion is. His singling out for this attack the superficial phases of your discussion made him appear pitifully ineffectual."

* * *

From a Regular Garrick Attendant

"I wish to assure you that according to my point of view Mr. Lewis acted like a great big cry baby and a badly petted and spoiled child. . . . Mr. Lewis was not able to answer your arguments to the satisfaction of his own specially prepared audience, and did the thing small minds always do—cried off. . . . Mr. Lewis and Mr. Lewis' audience have always looked upon a debate at the Garrick with a minister as a victim for their Roman holiday; and the insinuations, slurs, and innuendoes, of Mr. Lewis have always been received with the greatest delight. He has always been considered a past master at getting under the skin of his opponent. . . . By some hook or crook the shoe got on the wrong foot, you got under his skin, and he cried. But you touched him in an awful tender spot when you talked about 'fake science' and the 'Cagliostros of science.' Of course, if you talk that way right there in the Garrick, that might discourage some of the audience from looking up to Mr. Lewis as the little tin god of science."

* * *

From a Business Man

Another man sent in a carbon copy of a long letter which he had sent to Mr. Lewis; stinging in every line. This man has been attending the Lewis' lectures regularly for the past six years. This is one paragraph of his letter to Lewis:

"You had not gotten far in your second speech when the gentleman sitting beside me remarked 'You're whipped; cry!' and he is a more or less regular attendant at the Garrick. Then you withdrew your hat from the ring. What's the matter, Mr. Lewis, are you afraid to meet an opponent who has shown himself to be your intellectual equal?"

These letters are not quoted with any desire to crow over a vanquished opponent. Arthur Morrow Lewis is personally not worth this much space; but his influence in the Socialist movement has been great, and invariably to its detriment. In the name of Socialism he has exploited the ignorance of working men and the passion for social justice to his own cheap benefit.

It is time that this condition was ended, and that the Socialist movement were rid of an incubus which weighs it down and has well-nigh split it. The following Sunday the Garrick audience was the slimmest in years. Disgust at Lewis' behavior is universal.

This debate at the Garrick marks the beginning of the end. Mr. Lewis has seen it coming; and he has already prepared for a flight to Australia, where he is not known. So much he assured us, before the debate. This is written in the hope of hastening his journey to the Antipodes; where we wish him a pleasant and perpetual stay.

A Potato Patch Philosopher

(Section Two)

By C. V. Auguste

Socialism as Seen by a Negro Sage Who Works all Day in His Garden and Philosophises At Night.

Last month we carried the first instalment of glimpses and gleanings from Socialism, written by C. V. Auguste, a negro philosopher of St. Petersburg, Fla. Every American who has ever read Uncle Remus looked with a friendly eye upon the face of that Potato-Patch Philosopher, wise, kindly, and humorous, as he sat amid his printed musings. Many have written to express their appreciation of his words. In this issue another instalment of his horny-handed wisdom is presented. It glows with the mellow humor of the soil, with the kindly radiance of the cabin hearth after the hard day's toil is done. The Potato-Patch Philosopher is a permanent addition to our cluster of American Socialist thinkers!

Has it ever dawned in your mind, my colored co-worker, that every man is a slave, more or less, when he has to depend wholly on another for a job? This dependence becomes more valuable to his employer, because he owns the improved machinery. These his hirelings are to use in making two livings: one for him and the other for themselves. Did we say two livings? Wrong. Corrected it should be: a living for their master, and only an EXISTENCE for themselves. Most of us colored folks have never thought on these points. We think that education means to become rich and keep from soiling our clothes or even toughening our hands with such a thing as a garden hoe. The white folks are thinking on these points. Socialism is opening their mental vision to see that the man who owns the giant tools or machineries, and the jobs they must depend on for an existence, owns them also. Hence we advise our own co-workers to put this cake of Socialist yeast in their brain-pan when they do some thinking on the BREAD QUESTION. Doing so, they will find that, paying rent, paying interest, selling land, squeezing profits from wages, and overcharging patrons or customers—all for a profit—are the causes of nearly all the conflicts between capital and labor.

Socialism says abolish these profit-skinning schemes. Let the government, local, state or national, be the capitalists, be the trusts, be the owners of the jobs; and let the voters be the owners of the government. Of course, this cannot include ownership of all private jobs, as some by right or convenience, cannot be handled publicly, such as domestic jobs.

Thus we see that Socialism aims at the vitals of this private profit-system, the appendicitis of nearly all our social unrest. There will be no millionaires or paupers, after it is through operating on this profit system. All who work in some useful occupation, or by inability are excused from labor, will be comfortable. There will be occasional leisure for traveling. Daily ones for jobbing around our homes, before or after our regular work is done.

GLIMPSE 5

Revolution, Not Reform

No reforms in the dictionary of Socialism. Reforms, like chicken wire, are too thin to keep out the roving stock-grafters from our industrial plantings. Socialism wants something to turn and let them stay turned. This something it its Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Everyone of its public officers, before he or she takes their seat must sign their resignanation. This become effective whenever they are recreant to their trust and the voters demand their recall through the referendum. What can be more humiliating and warning to others than to see an officer BOB-TAILED of his office by a recall? Why! Even the very rats will make short work of a comrade whose tail has been STEEL-TRAPPED!! Don't know if Socialism will take their advice or not.

Socialism, though revolutionary will be evolutionary or gradual in its arrests of the evils arising from this private profit system. It does not propose to arrest them all at one jump. It will stop to catch breath. It will take years to reach them all.

However, by these three watchmen, the initiative, referendum and the recall a searchlight is thrown on all the acts of its officers. From him in the White House to him with the vacuum cleaner.

They say "it is impossible to practice Socialism. It cannot obliterate the selfishness in human nature. Some will always have the BIGGEST PIECE OF PIE." They should have it, provided their own labor is worth this slice. But; does any real thinker believe that a man's personal labor should income him millions a year? And this, while his helpers, who must have some brain too, are insignificantly squatting at the foot of his pile!! Some of these squatters are near the starvation point of the bread thermometer. A little colder, and their toes, not shoes, would touch ZERO.

What of it, even if a big brainer has invented an important device? Under Socialistic influences such a one will love humanity better than money. Christianity, too, will so influence him, if the church does its duty. This brainer will never starve. His beneficiaries

will retire him from further toil. He will be an honorary member of society. He will be awarded a special pension; a recognition meritoriously greater than that of us NUMBSKULLS who can invent or raise nothing but a FUSS. Such an inventor would fulfill the adage, "He serves God best who serves his fellowmen." Who, but a gouty-headed Dives would not prefer to fulfill this adage, rather than posses a ROCKY-MOUNTAIN of money? So much for those who assert that this plan of Socialism would kill every inventive brain.

In a sense Socialism does not want, if it could, to destroy human selfishness. It is this selfishness of the voters, when aroused, that will make Socialism practical. To benefit their several selfishness each voter will see that he must group his interest with that of others of his class. Only in this way can each successfully withstand the guns of the money GIBRALTAR. Why do newly hatched chickens, when cold, huddle together? As you know, it is the selfish want of warmth that instincts each to do so. Here is a natural object lesson for each worker. When each arouses his selfishness and poses and organizes his interests by huddling into one party, as Socialism advises, then each will gratify his selfishness working co-operatively.

The Socialist party invites the colored voters to examine its claims. It gives its colored members a Hand Pick in all its voting selections. The following are a few of the many things it advocates that are beneficial to us.

GLIMPSE 6

It will abolish the sale of land as a speculation; also the paying of rent and interest. No nightmare galloping down our spinal cord about the rent and interest due to-morrow. It advocates a free education in all the practical arts and sciences, sufficient to incline a child to like some useful occupation. Such, when grown, will not always be pleasuring around depending on "What the old folks have." This means less crimes, for in an educated brain the passions and base inclinations are largely controlled. The community will seldom be excited, if at all, with hounding mobs hunting for subjects of their UNWRITTEN LAW. The written one will always prevail.

Socialism advocates free medical attendance. The doctor's pay will be more for the prevention than for the cure of diseases. The undertaker's trusts will be as dead as their subjects. Most of the lawyers will cease making law suits, divorce suits and go to making tailor suits, or something else that better suits a peaceful community.

There will be pure goods. No poisonous adulterations, there being no profits in doing this. Sanitary stores, streets and working places. Vacuum cleaners everywhere.

A pension for all needy old folks and other disables. An eight-hour day for such labor as can be conveniently fixed on public works. A scale of wages according to the grade of work or skill required. In each department of work there will be an expert foreman or director. Such will know what an average worker should do in one day. The worker will then be required to do a certain quantity laid out. The generality of education among all socialized workers will incline them to give honest services of quality, quantity. Surely, any intelligent person will do this, when he knows that his service is linked with his interests, being a loser or gainer in his work. Under Socialism women and children under sixteen years of age must stop competing with men for jobs. By thus competing they are throwing men out of jobs. Mr. Colored Worker, do you find this protection for your labor in your republican Bible?

According to nature no young animal feeds or provides for its parents. Only man violates this law. He pushes out his tenderlings to help feed, clothe and shelter the family. Some won't school their children long enough. Others not at all. Such parents are human buzzards. They prey on the dead brain of their children. "Can't help it," eh? Yes you can, if only you will stop voting for the profit system that makes these conditions. No wonder that Miss SPORTIE told the judge that she has only had parents, but never a father or a mother.

Under Socialism public improvements in plenty of jobs will be more plentiful than now. No strikes, no panic scares to cause shutdowns.

Under Socialism the police or sheriffs will not vie with each other to see how many arrests they can make to swell the public treasury, or that of their own. No profit in doing this. A good officer of the peace is one who, by his courteous treatment of his subjects, inclines them to good behavior. He keeps orderly beats. He only beats in self defense, or when he must.

By effecting the obliteration of the incentive in the private profit system, Socialism will also cause that of most crimes to cease. Those it cannot obliterate will surely be dealt with by the written law, not the UNWRITTEN LAW of mobs. It wants jury actions for all atrocious crimes, just as it wants political action, and not violence, in attaining its principles. If the advocates of their unwritten law are ashamed to write their law, they should be ashamed to practice it.

Under Socialism public accommodations may still be separate for us. As we may have to endure this, we should make the most of our conditions. Let's confront them with brains, not with violence. However, these separate accommodations, even if public, will surely be equal in service. This, Socialism insures, with no GRANDFATHER CLAUSE in them.

Of course, each race has its own peculiar affinities or attractions. Each has the right to practice its likes in its own select circles without infringement from the other. They have none when they charge equal fares but give unequal services by JIM CROWING us in unsanitary quarters. Socialism will surely "toll the knell of parting day" to these unjust measures. They arise from the private profit system, the Captain Kidd of piracy on all our industrial voyages, whether some sail on the White Sea, or the Black Sea. Therefore, because of this equal accommodation cure that Socialism recommends, all of us colored folks should open up a political account with it. We should make a beaten path to its drug store for a sample of this specific.

GLIMPSE 7

All the parties, so far, except the Socialist, which most of us have never tried, have ignored our entreaties. So, as a Socialist, we want to give our party a gentle reminder, having no pepper in it. It is this: As a nation, we could see the British injustice in taxing us without representation. We can see none in taxing our colored citizens without giving them congressional representation in some form or other.

We forget that Crispus Attucks, a colored man, mingled his life blood with that of the white patriots in a street in Boston during the Revolutionary War. But O! how horrible even to let us send a delegate or two to Congress to voice our needs! However, it is very likely that some provision for a few delegates may be made for us, when Socialism revises the constitution. There are a few younger bloods in the party than the author of this statement. They are going to ask Socialism on this and other points. However, we will not do so demandingly, but appealingly to the brotherhood of Socialism.

GLIMPSE 8

The principles of Socialism, being definitely arranged, we advise our colored readers to study them. Form the habit of examination before acceptance. As nearly a whole, we colored folks are too apt to ally ourselves with certain brands of promises. They "gold brick" certain promises to us, and without examination we jump to close the deal. No wonder that, after the acid test is made, they tell us that the gold is buried in the moon; that we must spade to find it!! Hence, we should study Socialism before allying with it. This advice the giver practiced ten years ago. Nor has he regretted his alignment with it. Now he is giving these ten glimpses and gleanings from it.

GLIMPSE 9

Two years ago most of us bedfellowed with a so-called Progressive Party. It hypnotized such with the promise of a chance to get an office. Now, get your spade and run an excursion to the moon to find this office.

Now comes along Socialism and says, all the pirates have been and are on this earth. Even Satan, the first one, that used his tail to lasso the starry gems as he contortioned through space. The treasures are buried here. It tells us what we will find, if only we dig where and how it suggests. First, we will dig up a chance for equal public accommodations. Secondly, a chance to have a primary or nominating voice as well as an electoral one. Thirdly, a chance to find plenty of work and plenty of rest.

What about the office jobs? It can't vouch for them. The other party contractors will outbid it on these kinds of jobs. However, if you have brains, come with Socialism. If your brain outweighs your muscle, you stand a chance on one of these jobs. If otherwise, you will get an overall.

Some say that "Socialism will never arrive." They should remember that the pessimists of old said the same of nearly all improvements. One of these moss-back doubters said of McCormick's harvesting machine, "I will eat a buzzard without salt and pepper, if the thing works." It did work. When asked to fulfill his utterance he said, "I couldn't catch the buzzard." The next day his irate bull caught him by his horns.

We do not expect to sing Hosanna next Sunday at church for Socialism. Neither do we expect a Socialist president to dine in the White House in 1916. We believe, however, that Socialism will finally prevail tho' its enemies assail. It will not arrive on a canopied throne of ease. Its journey, like that of Christianity, which it parallels, may "lie through bloody seas." However, it will be found on the defensive, never on the offensive.

Some say that Socialism is "too slow." Too much political action in it. They want direct action, a general strike in all industries. Socialism proper, which is ninety per cent of the party, would rather set its political pot at the back of the stove to simmer, rather than have a boiling-over, scorching time directly over the fire. Here it will remain till the majority of its future voters are ready to dine.

GLIMPSE 10

Socialism derives its campaign funds from its registered members. We little quarter-dollar fellows, some of us less, own our party. The big thousand dollar checkers own the old parties. But, what about you, Mr. "Colored Gemman," who contributes nothing to your said party? How much of it do you own? No wonder, when the Office Barbecue is carved, and you turn up your plate for a slice, they play close communion on you!

Our national vote of 1912 was twice as large as in 1908. And this despite the Republican slogan of a "Full Dinner Pail." The jobless army is now using a microscope to see what the Democrats have fixed for them.

In 1912 Socialism was only seemingly defeated. Really it had only retreated with nearly a million votes. And now, in 1914, it has again numerically advanced, though not as a skyrocket party. We are glad that Socialism is paralleling the action of the turtle we read of in the fable of the race between it and the fox. Like the turtle, it is slow, but constant, as it makes for its political goal. The other parties, like the fox, are quick, but halty and sleepy at intervals. So, as it seems now, Socialism will finally duplicate the turtle's history by goaling at the end of some national campaign. The farmers' vote is all that ungoals it. But, in time, this vote will break its shell. Its November vote in Oklahoma gives sign of this.

Thus far we have Glimpsed and Gleaned from Socialism for our colored co-workers. We have tried to show them that the profit system is a burden on the backs of all shades of wage earners. That Christians will pray more earnestly, when they prey not on the labor of their neighbors. Let us hope that the rich and the poor, the white and the black, who now cat and dog at each other, will accept Socialism as a reconciliation in matters of food, shelter and clothing. That, like Abou Ben Adhem, each will want to be written as one who loves his fellowmen.

THE PROLETARIAN OF GALILEE

I

Ascend! Ascend! for Thou hast earned Thy Glory!
You cloudy depths, which that lov'd form enfold,
When have they seen throughout the ages hoary,
A nobler heart in human breast enrolled?

II

A soul, that all the might of Greed defying,
Breathed forth of liberty at ev'ry breath,
Till from us slaves He won a love undying,
And from our masters' hands, a martyr's death.

III

We'll not forsake the Cause for which was given
His life as pledge. Tho' stormy be the way,
We'll bear its Word till from men's limbs are riven
The chains that crush us to the earth today.

IV

And win, it will, e'en though our lords, assailing,
First, fire and sword, then subtler fraud will bring;
Would Him as one of their vile pack be hailing,
And blot His mem'ry with the stain of "King."

V

But His dear Cause, they cannot twist or smother,
Nor His brave death, till o'er a world set free
Mankind will love as He lov'd them, their Brother,
The Proletarian of Galilee.

Kellam Foster.

"If the Church is concerned with saving the life of one soul, what has she to say of 'the life that squeezes all the higher possibilities out of multi-
"Christianity calls upon us to organize our life so that men can be brothers in their shops and factories, as well as in their churches."

—Rev. T. R. Williams.

"While it is possible sometimes to rescue an individual even in the midst of the worst environment, we must not be led to forget that this method always leaves the majority behind. It is not enough to pluck a few brands from the burning; the world wants a religion that will put out the fire."

—Rev. T. R. Williams.

"The present competitive system does not secure to the workers their fair share in the product of their labor, and it creates in the hearts of the masses a rankling sense of injustice."

—Rev. T. R. Williams.

Are you interested in Socialist Poetry?

Have you enjoyed reading Rev. Irwin Tucker's poems in the Christian Socialist?

Did you care for "Christmastide" and "The Unemployed Worker" and "Resurgat Deus"?

Then you will be glad to know that he has published a book of his poems under the title of

Poems of a Socialist Priest

Price 25 Cents

Containing also "Lyrics of a Tramp Reporter."

Comrade Tucker is a priest of the Protestant Episcopal Church; the Church of Bishop Spalding and Dr. W. D. P. Bliss, Dean Bell and Rev. A. W. Arundel. But before entering the profession of the ministry he was for seven years a tramp reporter on many different newspapers in the West and South.

Have you a friend who believes that Religion and Socialism won't mix? Let him read this book. Carry it in your vest-pocket and read extracts to your friends.

Order of The Christian Socialist.

SPECIAL OFFER

Between Eras; From Capitalism to Democracy

BY ALBION W. SMALL,

Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago.

An inexhaustible mine of Arguments against Capitalism—Delightful as a Novel—Powerful as Dynamite—Unanswerable as a Trip-Hammer.

By a special arrangement with the Publishers we can offer this volume in combination as follows:

Cloth-bound copy of Between Eras, regular price $1.85
Four yearly subscriptions to The Christian Socialist..... 1.00

All for $2.00

Leather-bound copy of Between Eras, regular price.....$2.50
Seven subscriptions to The Christian Socialist..... 1.75

All for $3.00

Order now; you will never regret it.
Order of The Christian Socialist.

Town Lots
Large Building Sites
Near Salt Water
College Town
Co-operative Homemaking Center

FLORIDA

For 30 Days Only
MARCH 1st 1915 APRIL 1st

Farm Tracts
Poultry and Fruit
Farm Reservations
Railroad Facilities
Poultry Center
Natural Drainage

Ruskin

Located 15 miles south of Tampa, on the Little Manatee River; near Tampa Bay; water transportation; on bay shore route midway between two greatest centers of population on the west coast of Florida; home of Ruskin College; Industrial, educational advantages; Ideal social life; Co-operative endeavor; Fishing, Boating, Bathing, Sunshine, Salt air breezes, Pure artesian water.

SPECIAL TOWN LOT OFFER.

Twenty-eight lots, comprising three and a half blocks in the First Addition to Ruskin, will be sold during March. The nearest in are four blocks from business center and one block from navigable salt water; the farthest seven blocks and four blocks respectively. Regular price of farthest $60; regular price of nearest $90; intermediate $80 and $70. DURING MARCH ONLY these lots will be sold at the flat

PRICE OF $50.00 TO CASH BUYERS.

Allotments will be made in the order of application. The earliest applicants will save $40 per lot; the later ones less in proportion to delay. Size of lots 90x135 feet; Artesian water available affording city water advantages. Good subsoil.

FARM TRACTS.

In the First, Second and Third Additions to Ruskin Colony Farms at the regular price of $30 to $50 per acre, on the installment plan, or 10% discount for cash.

Morris Park

Located twenty miles southeast of Tampa on the Seaboard Airline Railroad; Good natural drainage; High rolling lands suitable for orange and grapefruit groves; Ideal poultry locations; Near large trucking center; Settlement well begun; Good settlements adjacent; Lands thoroughly tested.

SPECIAL FARM TRACT OFFER.

Six farm tracts near the Town of Morris Park will be sold during March at a special bargain. The nearest of these tracts is one-quarter of a mile from the railroad, the farthest one-half mile from the railroad. The regular price of these tracts is $60.00 per acre. DURING MARCH ONLY these tracts will be sold at

$45.00 PER ACRE TO CASH BUYERS.

Allotments will be made in the order of application. The earliest applicants will secure the tracts nearest the townsite and railroad, and the later ones in proportion to their delay.

These are five acre tracts with road fronting on each tract. These tracts are especially adapted to both poultry and fruit raising, but are also suitable for general homemaking.

FARM LANDS

in five and ten acre tracts further out selling at the regular price of $40 per acre for the ten acre tracts (farthest out) and $60 for five acre tracts. Installment plan, or 10% off for cash.

Address All Inquiries for Maps and Details, and Make All Remittances to

MILLER-DICKMAN, RUSKIN, FLORIDA

The Live Ones

By Mrs. Ella Carr

Dear Comrades:—

We have many good things to report from those who are active in the cause but we so desire to stir up many, many new recruits to join the ranks of those faithful Comrades who have worked years for this paper. If you, reader, will spend a little thought upon the millions who now suffer from the war and unemployment, you surely must be moved to do your part to end this terrible struggle of the ages. There is much to encourage us that Victory is in sight. These awful times demand that we work together as we have never before done. Throw away all prejudices and do not let an opportunity to spread the good news of Socialism pass by you unimproved. Work in whatever way you are best fitted and remember as you do the little things, you are thereby prepared to do the greater work that you CAN do if you only think so. There is no limit to the possibilities of your mind and soul development. Keep them open to truth and follow the light, the best light you have, and greater truth and light will come to you. The joy of those who lose themselves in their toil for the freedom of the race, surely surpasses all other joys. Test it. Let us not let this generation pass till the success of Socialism is assured.

* * *

The Good Things They Say

I received a copy of the paper I sent for and I am more than pleased with it. I want to thank God for placing myself at the service of our cause. I hereby make the pledge, and I will deliver the goods in installments as often as possible. You will find enclosed my first installment ($2.25 for subs). I am not blessed with words to express my appreciation of the Christian Socialist. I say however, that it has found Christ and His true relation to Humanity. It is truly a messenger of good tidings of great joy. It is food for the hungry souls of mankind. It enters the heart of man with its still sweet voice of Christ and explains the meaning of Socialism. It is heavy laden with a free gift. It goes forth at the command of the God of love. It is guided by the prayers of its sender. Jesus wept for the success of its mesage.

Comrades, let us send the Christian Socialist out as a detail in the building of God's cause that He in His infinite love may point to our work and say: "Well done my good and faithful servant." John H. Page, Sullivan, Ind.

* * *

I am greatly interested in the subject of Socialism and the Christian Socialist make it clearer to me than any other paper that I have read.
Mrs. Thomas Price, Marion, Ind.

* * *

We find the Christian Socialist so replete with good things we do not miss a word. Wish it came oftener. I am letting my neighbors read it and hope to send in subscriptions later.
Mrs. Annie S. Ling, Freeport, Ill.

* * * *

Your paper improves steadily.
Luther Spencer Hull,
Middletown, Conn.

* * *

I sincerely believe your paper will convince any intellgient Christian that he should be a Socialist.
Dr. R. W. Glendenning, Clifton, Colo.

* * *

I have been most thankful to have discovered that such a paper is published as the Christian Socialist.
(Rev.) D. A. McGregor, DeKalb, Ill.

* * *

The Christian Socialist is the best religious paper that I have ever seen, and we would msis it more than any paper that comes to our house.
William Nesbitt, Sask., Canada.

Comrade E. W. Van Valkenburgh, of New Jersey, says he has discovered a gold mine in the Christian Socialist and is greatly regretting that he has not made its acquaintance sooner. He promises to try to spread its circulation.

* * *

A New Hope to His Life

The Christian Socialist Memorial Number of Bishop Spaldnig has given a new hope to my life. How have I lived so long and not known more of modern Socialism! After reading the number sent me I read Kelly's book on 20th Century Socialism, and now I am heart and soul with you.
J. P. Conover, St. Paul's School,
Concord, N. H.

Brother Conover is both a minister and professor. He sent in his sub for the Christian Socialist and his application for membership in the Fellowship. May this Comrade's experience touch our hearts and move us to hasten with the good news of our Blessed Gospel to those who would just as eagerly accept it if they only had it brought to them.

* * *

The Christian Socialist makes converts wherever it goes.
Joseph E. Badger, Sabastopool, Cal.

* * *

The Christian Socialist,

Dear Sir—The Bishop Spalding Memorial issue of the Christian Socialist has been received, read and filed among my prophets, most of whom are called "Minor"—possibly because they are reformers. Bishop Spalding is no minor even among them, for he is a great reformer. I shall read the copy often. Thank you very much for sending it.

Gratefully and truly yours,
George D. Adamson,
Pastor Presbyterian Church,
Joy, Ill.

* * *

During the past few days the September, October, November, December and January issues of the Christian Socialist have reached me and, depend on it, the reading of these numbers in my home has brought real pleasure and new hope. The Christian Socialist is a periodical that will find its way to thousands of homes where any other literature on Socialism would be rejected. I am vitally interested in the publication and want to see it continued and spread all over this country.

It is with pride and satisfaction I learn that so many of the bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church, with which I am affiliated, have come out in the open for Socialism—the next step in our civilization. The churches must get on the band wagon for Socialism or their usefulness to humanity will disappear.

I predict that you will receive dozens upon dozens of subs from me and many others in this city and county for the C. S. from now on. I intend to give the matter my personal attention for the good that will come therefrom.

Grant S. Youmans,
Sec.-Treas. Organization Dept. of Socialist Party of State of North Dakota.

* * *

One Comrade Sends 64 Subs.

Comrade C. A. Waite of Winfield, Kan., made our hearts glad with his draft for $16.00 for 64 subs. Comrade Waite solicits the subs and if the people haven't the money when he asks for the subscription he puts their names on his list and then collects the amount later. He has made a splendid success of thsi plan.

Following amounts sent in for subscriptions deserve special mention:

H. W. Patterson, California......	$4.60
W. G. D. Ramus, Alabama......	5.00
G. H. Dimmitt, California......	4.70
W. D. Starling, Kansas..........	3.00
Robt. H. Johnson, Connecticut..	5.00
F. E. Hall, Minnesota...........	4.25
L. J. Larson, South Dakota....	5.00
C. W. Lyman, California........	3.00
Ben C. Broberg, California......	3.00
P. C. Arehart, Missouri.........	1.60
R. D. McClurg, Pennsylvania....	3.25
W. T. Aydelott	2.75
George W. Strebel, New York..	5.00

Why the Capitalist

BY FREDERICK HALLER

One great drawback to the study of Marxian Socialism has been the lack of a sense of humor in most Marxist writings. They are for the most part dry and inexpressibly dull.

But here is a book of sound theory, and sparkling with good, clear, American humor. It converts by a laugh. Written by a lawyer of wide experience and deep human sympathy, it is lunched by a vein of sparkling art that makes every page a pleasure as well as a profit.

Price $1.00

Order of The Christian Socialist.

THE SOCIALIST ARGUMENT

By Charles C. Hitchcock

Admirably written exposition of what the case of Socialism is. Clear, forceful, logical, obtaining the highest praises from both Socialist and non-Socialist press.

Second edition. Paper. Price, 25 cents

ORDER OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST

PEARSON'S

is the only Magazine of its kind

This is why:—

Three years ago Pearson's decided to be a *free magazine.*

This is what it did:—

ABANDONED FANCY COVERS
CUT OUT COLORED PICTURES
ADOPTED PLAIN PAPER

This was the purpose:—

A plain form would enable the magazine to live on its income from subscriptions and monthly sales. It would not have to consider the effect on advertisers when it wanted to print the truth about any public question.

This was the result:—

Pearson's *now* prints the truth about some question which affects your welfare in every issue. *It prints facts which no magazine that depends on advertising could "afford" to print.*

And, with all this, Pearsons still prints as much fiction and entertainment articles as other magazines. If you want plain facts instead of pretty pictures buy a copy on the news stand for 15 cents, or subscribe by the year for $1.50.

By special arrangement with Pearson's we are able to make you the following clubbing offer.

Christian Socialist and Pearson's.
1 year $1.00
Canada 1.50

New Illustrated Book FREE

CHIRO-PRACTIC

$25 a Day

Free Charts and Lessons

11 Complete Lessons in Drugless Healing

(Mechano-Therapy)

FREE!

This is the first time such an offer has ever been made. It may be the only time. We cannot urge you too strongly to accept this exceptional opportunity without a moment's hesitation.

This remarkable offer is positively restricted to a limited number and is for a short time only. As soon as a certain number of lessons have been given away free we shall be compelled to withdraw the offer. So don't wait a minute. Send your acceptance at once.

Why We Are Making This Offer

We want you to know the real truth about Drugless Healing. We want you to convince yourself what a wonderful new curative and big money making force may be placed at your command. Besides, these free lessons will prove how thoroughly, easily and quickly you can master this wonderful new profession at home, without interfering with your regular occupation and qualify you to earn

$2,500 to $6,000 a Year

Hundreds of our graduates in every quarter of the globe are successful Doctors of Mechano-Therapy and are daily demonstrating the wonderful efficiency of our methods. What about you? Are you satisfied—contented—healthy—happy in your work—making all the money you want? Wouldn't you like to be established in a pleasant, dignified profession—one in which there are boundless opportunities for you to become rich and influential—master of your own and others' health and happiness? Then accept this wonderful free lesson offer at once.

$15.00 Set of Eight Anatomical Charts FREE

Remember: This Offer Is Limited!

Don't hesitate at a chance like this. Get the facts—the real truth—learn what you can do—what you can earn as a Doctor of Mechano-Therapy. Just send the coupon or a postal or letter right away.

American College of Mechano-Therapy, Dept. 175 81 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

American College of Mechano-Therapy, Dept. 175 81 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Without cost or obligation, please send me by mail, prepaid, your free book and free lessons offer in Drugless Healing.

Name ______________

Address ______________

Some person very kindly sent me several copies of your publication. We have found their perusal really quite absorbing in interest. The contributions therein by Rev. Edward Ellis Carr are not only luminous, but inspiring and breathe not only the ideal, but livable and lovable Christianity. The welfare of man, justice rather than philanthrophy and charity should be, as is so well therein stated, the guiding star and moving thought of all the people.
Atty. Benjamin Vosper, Ionia, Mich.